Class _____

Book _____

CELEBRATION

BY THE

INHABITANTS OF WORCESTER, MASS.,

OF THE

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

JULY 4, 1876.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES.

Worcester:
PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CITY COUNCIL,
MDCCCLXXVI.

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WORCESTER:

PRESS OF CHAS. HAMILTON.

1876.

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The following resolve and order were adopted by the City Council at their first meeting after the Celebration :—

CITY OF WORCESTER.

In City Council, July 10th, 1876.

Resolved :—That the City Council hereby tenders its thanks to the Hon. Benj. F. Thomas, for his eloquent and able Oration, delivered on the Centennial Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, July 4th, 1876; and that he be requested to furnish a copy thereof for publication.

Ordered :—That the Committee of Arrangements for Celebrating the Centennial Fourth of July, appointed February 14th, A. D. 1876, be, and they are hereby, authorized to have printed fifteen hundred copies of the oration delivered by Judge Thomas, July 4th, A. D. 1876, together with a complete and concise history of the celebration, for the use of the City Council; the expense thereof to be charged to appropriation for incidentals.

Approved July 11th, 1876.

CLARK JILLSON, *Mayor.*

(A copy.) Attest,

Samuel Smith, *City Clerk.*

By transfer
JAN 15 1916

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The Committee on Printing, for the Celebration by the City of Worcester, of the Fourth of July, 1876, herewith submit the result of their labors. The limits of the volume have compelled them, with regret, to omit many details of the private displays and decorations of the day, and to refer chiefly to such alone as were of a public nature. The President of the United States, in his proclamation, last Spring, expressed the hope that Cities and Towns would publish an account of their July celebrations this year; and it therefore seemed proper to this Committee to add to the account of the exercises here, some historical notes and memoranda, compiled by one of their number, in regard to affairs which occurred in the town at about the time of the Declaration of Independence; together with a list of previous celebrations of its anniversary.

CLARK JILLSON, *Mayor.*
CHARLES A. CHASE.
NATHANIEL PAINE.
RICHARD O'FLYNN.
J. EVARTS GREENE.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

WAR DEPARTMENT LIBRARY

PREPARATIONS.

ACTION OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

Early in the year, the question of having a suitable commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of American Independence was agitated in the City Council, and the following order was adopted:—

CITY OF WORCESTER.

In City Council, January 31st, 1876.

Ordered:—That Aldermen Pratt and Lapham, with Councilmen Gaskill, Crane and Kickham be a Joint Special Committee, to consider and report upon the expediency of celebrating the Centennial Fourth of July in an appropriate manner.

Approved February 1st, 1876.

CLARK JILLSON, *Mayor.*

(A copy.) Attest,

Samuel Smith, *City Clerk.*

This Committee presented the following Report, which was accepted, and its recommendations adopted by the City Council:—

CITY OF WORCESTER.

In City Council, February 14th, 1876.

The Joint Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the expediency of Celebrating the Centennial Fourth of July in an appropriate

manner, have attended to the business committed to them, and report that the Committee are unanimous in the opinion that the Centennial Anniversary of our National Independence should be observed in a manner worthy of the occasion.

The Committee recommend the appointment of a Joint Special Committee of the City Council, to consist of the Mayor, two Aldermen, the President of the Common Council and three Councilmen, with power to make all necessary arrangements therefor. They also recommend that the Hon. George Bancroft be invited to deliver the oration; also, that an appropriation of $3,000 be made by the City Council, to defray the expense that may be incurred.

The Committee recommend that a meeting of the citizens be held at an early day to choose a Committee to act in concert with the Committee of the City Council, and the adoption of the accompanying order.

SUMNER PRATT,
M. A. LAPHAM,
E. B. CRANE,
F. A. GASKILL,
W. KICKHAM,

Committee.

CITY OF WORCESTER.

IN CITY COUNCIL.

ORDERED:—That the Mayor and Aldermen Jourdan and Williams, the President of the Council, and Councilmen Lovell, O'Sullivan and Rawson, be a Joint Special Committee, with power to make all necessary arrangements for celebrating the Centennial Anniversary on the Fourth day of July next.

ORDERED:—That the sum of Five Thousand Dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated to defray the expense which shall be incurred by the Joint Special Committee of the City Council in Celebrating the Centennial Anniversary of our National Independence; and the Mayor is hereby authorized to draw his orders on the City Treasurer for the payment of all such bills of expenditure as shall be authorized and approved by said Committee for said purpose to the amount of said sum, and that the same be charged to the account for incidental expenses.

Approved February 29, 1876.

CLARK JILLSON, *Mayor.*

(A copy.) Attest,

SAMUEL SMITH, *City Clerk.*

In accordance with the recommendation of the City Council, the Mayor extended the following invitation to the Hon. George Bancroft :—

CITY OF WORCESTER.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

MAYOR'S OFFICE, FEBRUARY 14TH, 1876.

DEAR SIR:

Being duly authorized by the City Council of the City of Worcester, I hereby extend to you a cordial invitation to deliver an Address to the City Government and People of said City, on the Fourth day of July next.

The citizens of Worcester will gladly welcome you to the home of your childhood.

Truly yours,

CLARK JILLSON, *Mayor.*

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Bancroft declined the invitation of the City Council in the following letter :—

NO. 1623 H STREET,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 4th*, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR:

The affection I bear to the City of Worcester makes it difficult for me to decline your invitation to return to the place of my nativity and the home of my childhood, and address its government and people on the Fourth day of July next.

This conflict between my most cherished local attachment and my sense of what it is prudent for me to undertake, have kept my mind long in suspense, and must plead with you as my excuse for the delay in replying to your note.

Yet I have deemed it on every other occasion discreet and necessary to decline any invitation to speak to a large assembly; and it is with the utmost regret that I find myself, on the present occasion, obliged to forego the honor and delight of meeting and addressing you on our approaching Centenary Anniversary.

Yours very truly,

GEO. BANCROFT.

The Honorable CLARK JILLSON,
Mayor of the City of Worcester, Mass.

After receiving the letter of Mr. Bancroft declining the invitation to deliver the oration, the Committee having the matter in charge voted to invite the Hon. B. F. Thomas, of Boston, to perform that service.

Judge Thomas accepted the invitation in the following letter:—

BOSTON, *March 29th*, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have received your kind invitation on behalf of the City Council to deliver an address to the City Government and People of Worcester on the Fourth of July next.

I find it not easy to decline any service the City of Worcester asks at my hands, and will try to discharge the duty assigned to me.

Very truly yours,

BENJ. F. THOMAS.

HON. CLARK JILLSON, and
THOMAS J. HASTINGS, Esq.,
Committee.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee of the City Council, it was decided to invite several citizens known to be interested in a proper observance of the day, to unite with them in making the necessary arrangements. The members of the Citizens' Exchange having expressed their interest in the Celebration by the appointment of a Special Committee to aid in making it a success, the Committee of the City Council invited the gentlemen so designated to act upon the General Committee.

The General Committee, as finally constituted, was as follows:—

City Government:

CLARK JILLSON, MAYOR;
WM. H. JOURDAN, ALDERMAN; JOHN M. WILLIAMS, ALDERMAN;
THOMAS J. HASTINGS, PRESIDENT COMMON COUNCIL;
ALBERT A. LOVELL, CORNELIUS O'SULLIVAN, O. F. RAWSON,
COMMON COUNCILMEN.

Citizens at Large:

C. B. WHITING, W. A. DENHOLM, SAMUEL D. NYE,
STEPHEN SALISBURY, JR., RICHARD O'FLYNN,
E. B. STODDARD.

Citizens' Exchange:

GEORGE F. VERRY, HENRY H. CHAMBERLIN, E. H. KNOWLTON,
CHAS. B. PRATT, A. D. WARREN,
A. M. PARKER.

The Committee voted that there should be two Processions; the first consisting of Military and Civic Organizations, to take place in the forenoon; and the other, in the afternoon, to be a Trades' Procession, representing the various business interests of the City of Worcester. It was also decided that the public buildings be decorated on the day of the celebration and illuminated in the evening, and that the public generally be earnestly invited to take part in this demonstration.

Besides the formal exercises of the day at Mechanics Hall, it was voted, that there should be a Concert by the Children of the Public Schools at an early hour in the day, to be given in a tent to be erected on the Common.

On Monday the 3d of July, the project of having the Declaration of Independence read for the benefit of those who did not attend the exercises in Mechanics Hall, was started, and arrangements were made to that effect. Colonel J. A. Titus was selected as the reader, and the spot where the Old South Church porch stood when the Declaration was first read in the State was selected as the place for the reading. Col. Titus accordingly read the Declaration from this historic spot, while the exercises in the hall were in progress.

The General Committee appointed the following Sub-Committees, to take charge of the various details of the Celebration:—

On Firing Salutes, Music, etc.

O. F. RAWSON, CHAIRMAN; R. H. CHAMBERLAIN, E. T. RAYMOND,
J. M. DRENNAN, ARTHUR A. GOODELL,
G. EDWARD SMITH.

On Emblems.

ALBERT A. LOVELL, Chairman; CHARLES B. WHITING,
EDWARD W. LINCOLN, JOHN G. HEYWOOD,
STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., S. J. WILCOX,
GEO. E. FRANCIS, J. STEWART BROWN,
WM. S. BARTON, H. WOODWARD,
BENJ. ZAEDER.

Trades' Procession.

WM. H. JOURDAN, Chairman; SAMUEL D. NYE, JAMES H. MELLEN,
ANDREW ATHY, D. F. PARKER, CHARLES BELCHER,
C. W. GILBERT, H. M. WITTER.

Civic Organizations and Bodies.

J. A. TITUS, Chairman; A. D. WARREN, GEORGE SUMNER,
JOHN S. BALDWIN, CORNELIUS O'SULLIVAN.

Citizens' Teams and Banners.

CHARLES B. PRATT, Chairman; HENRY H. CHAMBERLIN,
GEORGE S. BARTON, GEORGE P. KENDRICK,
CHAS. A. WILLIAMS, HARLAN FAIRBANKS.

Decoration and Illumination of Common.

J. M. WILLIAMS, Chairman; E. B. STODDARD, H. A. MARSH,
LEWIS W. HAMMOND, J. K. CHURCHILL.

Citizens' Out-door Decoration, etc.

W. A. DENHOLM, Chairman; WM. H. BLISS, A. M. PARKER,
E. H. KNOWLTON, J. J. RUSS.

Tent and Fixtures.

CHAS. H. PECK, Chairman; DAVID BOYDEN, C. H. M. BLAKE,
P. F. MURRAY, WM. O'CONNELL.

Exercises in the Tent.

THOMAS J. HASTINGS, Chairman; A. P. MARBLE, JAMES GREEN,
WM. B. HARDING, WM. T. HARLOW, F. A. GASKILL,
JAMES DRAPER.

Procession, Route, etc.

JOSIAH PICKETT, Chairman; SIMON E. COMBS,
JAIRUS B. LAMB, W. S. B. HOPKINS,
JAMES T. BRYANT.

Printing.

CLARK JILLSON, Chairman; CHARLES A. CHASE, NATHANIEL PAINE,
RICHARD O'FLYNN, J. EVARTS GREENE.

Invitations and Receptions.

CLARK JILLSON, Chairman; C. DEVENS, Jr., STEPHEN SALISBURY,
GEORGE W. RICHARDSON, D. WALDO LINCOLN,
WM. H. JOURDAN, HENRY CHAPIN,
ISAAC DAVIS, GEO. F. VERRY.

At an early day, Gen. Josiah Pickett was appointed Chief Marshal, to have in charge the processions on the day of the celebration, and, having accepted the invitation, he appointed the following aides:—

Chief of Staff:

Major E. T. RAYMOND.

Aides:

Gen. A. B. R. SPRAGUE, Gen. W. S. LINCOLN, Gen. A. A. GOODELL,
Gen. D. D. WILEY, Surgeon J. M. RICE, Maj. L. G. WHITE,
Capt. T. S. JOHNSON, Capt. C. S. CHAPIN,
Capt. D. M. EARLE, Lieut. W. B. HARDING,
Serg't HARLAN FAIRBANKS,
H. M. WITTER, HENRY A. MARSH, Dr. NAPOLEON JACQUES,
Dr. F. J. McNULTY, STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr.,
R. M. GOULD, JOHN N. MORSE, Jr.,
A. A. LOVELL.

The following invitation was extended to his Excellency the Governor, the Ex-Mayors of the City, and to many of the former residents of Worcester :—

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

1776. *1876.*

OF

American Independence.

The Inhabitants of the City of Worcester cordially invite you to be present on the 4th day of July, 1876, *and join with them in Celebrating the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Nation's Independence, in this City.*

Clark Jillson,
Charles Devens, Jr.,
Stephen Salisbury,
George W. Richardson,
D. Waldo Lincoln,
Wm. H. Jourdan,
Henry Chapin,
Isaac Davis,
George F. Verry,

Committee of Invitation and Reception.

Guests Received at the City Hall at 9 A. M.

Governor Rice declined the invitation, regretting his inability to be present.

The following Ex-Mayors were present, and took part in the festivities :—

Peter C. Bacon, Henry Chapin, George W. Richardson, P. Emory Aldrich, Alexander H. Bullock, Phinehas Ball, W. W. Rice, Edward L. Davis, D. Waldo Lincoln.

Among those present at the exercises in the Hall, were Judge Charles Devens, Jr., of the Supreme Judicial Court, the venerable Rev. George Allen, and Hon. Stephen Salisbury, honored citizens of Worcester.

Hon. George Bancroft, formerly a resident of Worcester, declined the invitation of the Committee in the following letter :—

NEWPORT, *July* 1*st*, 1876.

MY DEAR SIRS:

Your invitation to join you in celebrating the coming One Hundredth Anniversary I receive with answering gladness.

No place in the Union has a better right to keep it than my native town, which, in every great crisis, has been true to the nation. To the prophetic wisdom of the politicians of Worcester John Adams listened and mused till the fire burned and lived within him, so that he became the colossal defender of American Independence. In the struggle against slavery as a Massachusetts institution, it records only victories bloodless and complete; and when, at a later day, the cry arose that the Union was in danger, its voice was heard on all the hill-sides, and its sons were arrayed in countless battle-fields.

I shall be present on the 4th with you in spirit, and am, and shall ever be, with affection and fidelity for the place of my birth,

Most truly yours,

GEO. BANCROFT.

To Messrs. CLARK JILLSON,
CHARLES DEVENS, JR.,
STEPHEN SALISBURY,
GEO. W. RICHARDSON,
D. WALDO LINCOLN,
WILLIAM H. JOURDAN,
HENRY CHAPIN,
ISAAC DAVIS,
GEO. F. VERRY,

Committee of Invitation and Reception.

The Hon. Emory Washburn, of Cambridge, for many years a prominent and honored citizen of Worcester, was also obliged to decline the invitation of the Committee :—

CAMBRIDGE, *June 28th*, 1876.

GENTLEMEN :

I thank you cordially for the honor of an invitation to be present on the coming 4th July at the Celebration of the Inhabitants of the City of Worcester. It would have given me great pleasure to accept it if a previous engagement upon the same day did not compel me to decline it.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

EMORY WASHBURN.

HON. CLARK JILLSON and others,

Committee.

EXERCISES OF THE DAY.

The Exercises at Mechanics Hall were carried out in accordance with the following

PROGRAMME.

Chorus.—Hail Columbia!

PRAYER.

Rev. Charles M. Lamson.

Our God and Father! On this day of celebration we confess Thee, Thy wisdom, love, and the glory of Thy name. Thou hast established our country, and to Thee we give honor and gratitude.

We thank Thee for the liberty that has been achieved. May it be maintained and preserved. May we live again the virtues of our fathers, and give to our children what we have as a legacy from them. May we study their spirit, and remember their wisdom and devotion.

God bless our Union of States. In unity may they preserve peace and honor. May they grow strong and great and pure.

God bless the day and all who celebrate its return. God bless us, and make us better able to do our work, to live more wisely, and be fitted by the faithful performance of present duty for future responsibility. In the name of Christ, Amen.

Chorus.—Hail Columbia.

READING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,

By Herbert B. Howard,

Junior Class of the High School.

ODE.

WRITTEN BY HON. CLARK JILLSON.

One hundred years ago to-day,
A few brave souls prepared the way
To found an empire, strong and free,
Defying legions o'er the sea.

They set their banner on the hills,
New-born and fresh as mountain rills,
That all the world might see its stars,
And count its thirteen flaming bars.

The bells proclaimed a nation's birth,
And spread the tidings o'er the earth;
The state rejoiced—united, free,
Their watchword "Death or Liberty."

The struggle came; and face to face,
With polished steel or gleaming mace,
Two armies stood as firm as rock,
To give and take the battle shock.

The youthful empire won the field,
And England's pride was doomed to yield;
Oppression was compelled to cease,
Beneath the arching bow of Peace.

The nations wondered when they saw
Triumphant Liberty and Law;
And we recount their pledges o'er,
Proclaiming peace forevermore.

His Honor, Mayor Jillson, then introduced the Orator of the Day, in the following words :—

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

Our nation rejoices to-day. The States affirm their fidelity to each other as they stand side by side upon the verge of a new century. The City of Worcester, proud of its history in the olden time, adds a willing voice to the grand chorus of loyal municipalities, and gratefully renews a faithful devotion to the true spirit of American liberty. Those unconquerable patriots, who met in secret conclave and open town meeting, in public assemblies and in the Continental Congress, uttering defiance to the most powerful nation on the earth, have passed away; but their words, culminating so grandly in the clear, bold autograph of John Hancock, appended to that

immortal pioneer of liberty, the Declaration of Independence, gave life and vitality to a great Republic, the future of which is as full of hope as its past is of glory. The history of these men speaks to us from the sacred shrine of yonder consecrated temple,* where, amid glittering bayonets, they knelt in prayer for the common safety. How great the change within a period of one hundred years! The walls of that ancient edifice were not decorated with banners, emblems, or graceful festoons. Children were not gathered there as we see them to-day in the freshness of their young lives, to echo through its solemn arches the thrilling notes of victory, or to soothe the weary soldier with anthems of peace.

But the founders of the Republic in time of peril were urged on to duty by believing that an overruling Power had favored them with a special blessing in placing at the head of their fearless armies such men as Washington and Lafayette, under whose guidance, with the inspired words of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry upon their lips, they established our independence forever.

To-day, after the lapse of a century, we meet to commemorate the virtues of our fathers, and, amid patriotic demonstrations, ringing of bells, the roar of cannon and the glare of illumination, to impress upon all American citizens how strongly they are bound to cherish the memory of those heroes of 1776.

One hundred years ago, on the Fourteenth day of July, the Declaration of Independence, then on its way from Philadelphia to Boston, was intercepted at Worcester, and read for the first time in Massachusetts by a distinguished defender of the American Colonies, Mr. Isaiah Thomas.

On this occasion, I have the honor to introduce to you as the Orator of the Day, one of his descendants, Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas.

ORATION.

Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas, LL. D.

BENEDICTION.

The Chorus consisted of the Pupils of the High School.

G. William Sumner, Organist. Edward S. Nason, Conductor.

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* The Old South Church.

CONCERT.

BY THE PUPILS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

One of the most charming features of the celebration was the Concert by the Pupils of the Public Schools, in a mammoth tent on the Common, at 7.45 A. M. There were about twelve hundred in the chorus, selected principally from the Grammar Schools; the groups of happy children, in charge of the principal teachers, the girls generally dressed in white and the boys in their holiday attire, each carrying a neat national flag. They were arranged on tiers of seats in regular elevation from the conductor's stand in front. On the right of the conductor was an organ and piano, and on the left the four Worcester bands for accompaniments. Mr. C. P. Morrison presided at the organ, and Mr. G. W. Sumner at the piano, with Mr. E. S. Nason for conductor. The portion of the tent not occupied by the singers and bands was closely packed with a deeply interested audience, and thousands were around the tent, enjoying as well as they could the sweet strains of the young songsters.

The concert was conducted in accordance with the following programme:—

CENTENNIAL CONCERT,

IN THE TENT ON THE COMMON, BY THE

SCHOLARS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS,

July 4th, 1876, *from 7¾ to 9 o'clock, A. M.*,

ASSISTED BY THE

WORCESTER BRASS BAND,
WORCESTER NATIONAL BAND,
WORCESTER FRENCH BAND,
WORCESTER IRISH BAND.

MR. C. P. MORRISON, Organist.
MR. G. WILLIAM SUMNER, Pianist.
MR. EDWARD S. NASON, Conductor.

PROGRAMME.

1. America.

   Full chorus of 1200 voices, bands, organ and piano.

2. Our Native Land.

   Scholars of the eighth and ninth grades, organ and piano.

3. Independence Day.

   Song, by the boys, chorus by all the voices, bands, &c., and tableau with flags.

4. Mount Vernon Bells.—To the Memory of Washington.

   Song, by twenty-eight young ladies from the eighth and ninth grades.

5. The Red, White and Blue.

   Song, by boys, chorus by all, with bands, &c.

6. Keller's American Hymn.

   Full chorus, bands, organ and piano.

7. Flag of the Free.

   Song, by boys, with full chorus.

8. New England.

9. Star Spangled Banner.

   Full chorus, bands, organ, piano, and tableau with flags.

LIBRARY

ORATION

BY

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN THOMAS,

JULY 4, 1876.

ORATION.

It was a quiet summer's morning in the then village of Worcester, loveliest of the inland villages of the "Bay," indeed of the *New* England. In 1776 and for a half century later, the village consisted chiefly of a single broad way, leading from the north square to the Common or training-ground, running through this valley and begirt with these hills which nature and culture had made so beautiful. The street lined on either side with elms, the neat, many of them elegant, mansions standing back from the road, with grass-plat or flower-bed in front and shrubbery at the sides, and the general air of comfort, refinement, and taste, were the delight of all travellers. The shire of the county, the residence of its officials, it was distinguished then as now for its society of educated men and beautiful and accomplished women.

On the training-ground and around the western porch of the meeting-house the people of the village had been suddenly gathered; standing on the porch a young man of twenty-seven years was reading to the intently listening group the Declaration of Independence. Early

on Sunday morning, the 14th of July, 1776, the messenger bearing the Declaration to Boston had been intercepted, and a copy obtained, which was now read publicly for the first time in Massachusetts Bay. Young as was the reader, he had already a history. Trained in what has so often proved the best of colleges, the printing office, Isaiah Thomas had established in his native city of Boston, six years before, the "Massachusetts Spy." For six years he had given his press and himself to the cause of freedom in the colonies. The "Spy" became a power in the Massachusetts Bay. The provincial government hoped to buy the young printer: he was not in the market; it tried to intimidate him: he was without fear; it tried to suppress him, but he baffled and defeated its craft and its power, gaining new strength and influence by every conflict. Trained by the severest discipline of narrow and adverse fortune, struggle was to him second nature. Striking to the root of things, aggressive, defiant of the civil and military power of province, parliament and crown, threatened openly with violence by the soldiers and privately with assassination, his press and life were in such imminent peril that John Hancock and other friends insisted upon his removal from Boston to the interior. In a few days they said it would be too late. On the evening of the 16th of April, 1775, with the aid of Gen. Warren and Col. Bigelow, two presses and a few types were ferried over the river to Charlestown and put on their way to Worcester.

In the great debate between prerogative and freedom,

his press had been among the first to rise from the discussion of the rights of the colonists as English subjects, to the higher plane of their rights as men. The Declaration he was reading was the culmination of his faith and hopes.

The listening village,—it too had a history, of ten years' strife, so fierce that social and family ties were burned as flax in its flame ; bitterer even than the conflicts of arms. In these, wrath and bitterness are ejected with the cannon or rifle shot or thrust of bayonet, and humanity resumes its sway ; but the wrath that finds no outlet but words is kindled and fanned by their breath to intenser heat. Some of her citizens most eminent for ability, culture and social influence, led by James Putnam, the learned and eloquent attorney-general of the province, had adhered to the royal cause, attesting their fidelity to their convictions by suffering reproach, confiscation, and exile.

The sons of liberty had had too their cross. These matrons and maidens, listening with moistened eyes and throbbing breasts, had husband, son or brother who had been in the terrible march through the wilderness to Canada, and had fallen by the bullet from the ramparts or perished in the snows before Quebec. Their gallant leader in debate and arms, Col. Bigelow, village blacksmith, patriot, soldier, statesman, had been for six weary months a prisoner in its citadel. Fitting it is that his monument should stand by the side of that which a grateful city has erected to the memory of the later soldiers who died to save what he toiled and suffered to

win. Marking the opening and closing gate-ways of the century, they bear witness to the same spirit of self-sacrifice, the same devotion to duty and country, in the sons as in the sires.

Could we read the thought of the most thoughtful of that listening group, should we find any prophecy of the seven years of war to uphold the Declaration, and the seven years of confusion and disorder, not to say anarchy, before the blessings of liberty should be secured by stable and efficient government, and the new nation assume in fact, as in word, "its equal station among the powers of the earth"?

RISE AND GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC.

But the local celebrations, national *and* local, have been had. The memories of Lexington and Concord, of Bunker Hill and Boston, by eloquence and poetry have been given to the keeping and trust of the new century. This day belongs to the rise and growth of the Republic, to the causes that made us "one people" and a "free people," and to the development and progress of the nation for the first century of its life. Some contribution to this history, however fragmentary, or in the narrow line of one's own study and thought, has seemed to me the fitting service of the occasion.

The *rise* and *growth* of the Republic,—I find great significance in these words. States grow, they are not built; they are the fruit of time and nature rather than of speculation and contrivance. When seemingly built,

the structure, to endure, must be of materials which the experience and reforms and amendments of generations have fashioned to the builder's hand. The living state grows out of the wants and necessities of a people, and is the embodiment and expression of its physical, intellectual, and moral life. When its capacities and wants have outgrown existing forms of government, by reform, or oftener by revolution, it adapts government to its new demands and necessities.

Yet, when we look back upon its history it is seen that what we call revolution is but evolution,—the slow procession and lifting up from a lower to a higher type of civil polity. The gods grind slowly. "As for the philosophers," said Lord Bacon, "they construct imaginary laws for imaginary commonwealths, but their discourses are as the stars, which give little light because they are so high."

Free institutions are of especially slow growth. We may trace the progress of English liberty for at least six and a half centuries, from the morning twilight of July 15, 1215, when on the little island of the Thames, between Staines and Windsor, the sturdy barons wrested from a subject king the great charter of freedom. From the gray of that morning streamed the rays which threading cloud, tempest, and eclipse have belted the round earth with the light of English liberty. Slow, indeed, and devious its progress as the river which witnessed its rising, which the traveller sees now with languid current, now seemingly at rest, now with gentlest curve, now as if wandering back to its fountain, through sweet

meadow and lawn, by battle-field and village spire and churchyard, round castle-walls, by college-towers and palace-gardens, beneath the shade of Westminster, through the world's "mighty heart," moving, ever moving to the sea.

The vastness of the theme appals me. The brilliant historian and son of Worcester, whom you hoped to have had with you to-day, has given some five thousand pages to the history of the Republic to the close of the Revolution. To confine myself within any bounds, I must look at the history in a single aspect, the legal and constitutional,—dryest, perhaps, and least attractive, but not, I think, the least useful. The marvellous material growth and expansion, the increase in wealth, in numbers, in the comforts and luxuries of living, in intellectual culture, in science, in art, in that union of science and art by which we have subjected the laws of nature to the will and service of man,—have conquered time and space, and brought the most distant climes and peoples into society and neighborhood ; the subduing of the wilderness, the hand-to-hand grapple with the savage, the stirring incidents of the old French war, of the war for independence, of the war for the freedom of the seas, of the war for national integrity and life,—I must forego all these.

The useful, I had almost said the only useful way of studying our civil institutions is the historical. The difficulty is to know where to begin,—perhaps you will think, where to end.

Rev. Dr. Prince, who would write the chronology of New England, went back to the creation, and on his return voyage landed four years after the planting of Massachusetts. Simple as this method may seem, it was nevertheless true that all past history was a contribution to the humble chronicle he was meaning to write. The life of to-day is the fruit of the whole life of the past, and the seed of the future. In the divine economy there is no waste of light or of power. The line of progress, though we may not always trace it, is clear to Him who sees the end from the beginning, and in whose logic, slow it may be but infallible, effect follows cause, though ages may intervene.

Dealing with matters of history, I must use the freedom of history ; her words are or should be words of truth and soberness. It is among the mysteries that, beings of hope and aspiration, we find always the Golden Age in the twilight of the past instead of the kindling dawn of the future. There are men who so hug the illusion, old enough to be rebuked by Solomon, that " the former days were better than these," that had they been present at creation, instead of joining with the stars when they sang together, and the sons of God when they shouted aloud for joy, they would have mourned in solemn dirges the sad departure of chaos and old night.

The world moves, onward and upward, in a spiral line it may be, but the world moves. A just sense of the wisdom of our fathers, a grateful sense of their labors and sacrifices, is healthful for mind and heart ; the belief that all wisdom and virtue died with them, and

that we are degenerate sons of noble sires, is not healthful because it is not true.

PLANTING OF THE COLONIES.

To understand the rise and growth of the Republic we must go back, for a moment, to the settlement of the colonies. Nothing could be more fortunate, or, if we see Providence in history as in nature, more providential, than the time and circumstances of their planting. The time was fortunate. Had they been planted soon after the discovery of the continent they might have had a very different fate and history.

In the intervening century came the Reformation, rousing from its lethargy the mind and conscience of Europe, and which, however imperfect its immediate fruits, was for all time the assertion of the freedom of the individual spirit in its highest relations, and as a necessary result, however slowly developed, in its relations with the State.

With the Reformation came the Bible in the vernacular, the open Bible. We shall fail to understand the political character of our fathers unless we bear in mind that for the first century of our history the Bible was to them not only the record of the divine will and purposes, but the great instrument of their culture, their political and civil, their *secular* as well as religious, law and guide ; and we shall not be far out of the way if we discover that in some phases of their life they found more significance and exhibited a more practical faith in

the Old Testament than in the New ; in Moses, the prophets, than in the beatitudes of the Mount.

We are also to remember the wonderful intellectual development of England, in all the spheres of thought, in the last quarter of the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century, in which the philosophy of Bacon was to the study of nature what the Reformation was to religion.

It was fortunate, be it said with all respect for the Church, Catholic or English, that the New England colonies, whose policy and thought have so largely influenced and moulded those of the Republic, were founded by the most protesting of Protestants and the most dissenting of Dissenters. Our history needed this peculiar element,—the capacity of suffering, the sturdy self-reliance, the vigilant outlook of pilgrim and Puritan, the sterner stuff, the firmer fibre of which the men and women were made, who could leave England in the days of its material prosperity, the homes of their childhood, the graves of their fathers, facing wilderness, want and savage, simply to pray as the Spirit taught them to pray ; who, though they might have worshipped in solemn temples, in cathedral choirs, the eye ravished with beauty and the air with music, preferred the rude log-house in the forest or the temple not made with hands, and to royal favor the favor of the King of kings ; who, instead of basking in sunshine could stand out in the cold, and when they got into their new homes could bar the doors not only against all sorts of intruders, but against bishop and king ; men and women who,

though not without the failings of their time and failings of their own which it is not easy to love, had the qualities which fitted them to be the founders of empire, *conditores imperiorum*, and what is higher and better, the founders of free states.

We must remember also that the colonies were settled after the opening of that great conflict between freedom and prerogative in England, which in its later stages we call the Great Rebellion, and of which the first great issue was the denial of any power of taxation except by the people represented in Parliament. The colonists bore to their new homes the logic and the courage of this debate. "England," said Mr. Burke, "is a nation which I still hope respects and formerly adored her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant."

This great conflict drew to itself all the thought, activity, foresight, and vigilance of crown and parliament and people, and led to the neglect of the colonies for a generation. When the storm subsided for a time into the dead sea of despotism and rottenness, and attention was drawn to the colonies as possible sources of profit, they had acquired a considerable degree of strength and stability. They had from necessity become adepts in the art and practice of independent local government, and their confidence in and attachment to it were thenceforth the conviction and passion of their history. Indeed the New England colonies during the first generation of the planters were substantially independent states. The only practical limitation upon their

independence was in the powers they conferred upon the confederation of the New England colonies, and the forming of that confederation was not only the assertion of self-government, but the germ and prophecy of a new nation.

Nor must we leave out of the account the distance of the colonies from England, the three thousand miles of inhospitable ocean that rolled between ; without steam or telegraph equal to half the circuit of the globe to-day. To the colonies, remoteness was to some extent neglect, and neglect was safety. It took a long rod and outstretched arm to reach them. "To every thing there is a season and a time to every purpose under the heaven." No man can venture to say that with the present facilities of access and intercourse, the present practical neighborhood of England and America, local self-government or separate government would have been secured. The ocean, with its depths throbbing with command and threat, and the steamer flitting over its bosom, swifter than a weaver's shuttle, to enforce them would have been not a barrier but an easy pathway to aggressive and restraining power.

There was one gift of England to the colonies,—I had almost said her only gift,—that of wise and good men. The little island has always been *magna parens virum* and never more fruitful than when the colonies were planted. She sent, or rather by her harsh discipline drove, to the wilderness some of her choicest spirits, men of liberal culture, trained in her best schools and in her universities, by whose wisdom, foresight, and goodness

were laid the foundations of that system of education for the whole people which in our progress towards free institutions has been the most efficient motive power, our inspiration, our safety ; and so may be for the coming generations unless they make the sad mistake of divorcing the culture of the brain from the culture of the heart.

Another thing the planters brought with them was the common law of England. On this matter there has been, I think, no little mistake and exaggeration. The fact is, that the young states could not have lived under the common law of England as it was at the opening of the seventeenth century: they would have been crushed by the weight of the armor.

What the colonists brought with them was so much only of the common law as was adapted to their condition. In Virginia it was more closely adhered to ; but the common law, which the New England colonists did not like, was found not to be adapted to their condition. Its rules which protected their rights as men, its doctrines and muniments of personal liberty, they adopted and used, not always with their brethren or the stranger within their gates, but always and often effectively against arbitrary power at home. The laws regulating the descent of land in the mother country they would not have. They saw that the effect of the rule by which the real estate passed to the eldest son had been to keep property in few hands, and thus to build up and sustain an aristocracy. The change of the law by which landed estate was divided among the children

(the eldest son, however, taking two parts) had more influence than any other one fact in leading the way to democratic institutions. We shall not appreciate its full influence unless we recollect how large a proportion of what we call property was then real estate. To-day colossal fortunes may be built up without a rood of land. Indeed, by our system of corporations and corporate stocks, vast quantities of landed estate have been transmuted into personal property.

So much it seemed to me well to say as to the time and circumstances of the planting of the colonies and of the material of which they were composed.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

A word should be said as to the forms of government under which the plantations grew up to States.

By the settled principles of public law the country occupied by the colonies was part of the dominion belonging to the Crown of Great Britain by right of discovery ; with perhaps the additional title in the case of New York of right by conquest from the Dutch. The title to every acre of land was held immediately or mediately by grants from the Crown. Whatever title the Indian may have had to the soil, it was the exclusive right of the government to extinguish it, and to exclude all persons from gaining any title by grants from the natives. With the moral basis of this law I have not to deal. It is the law recognized by all civilized states, and affirmed by our highest judicial tribunal.

Again, all civil authority used in the colonies was derived from the Crown as representing the sovereignty of the British Empire. The voluntary compacts, as those entered into in the harbor of Cape Cod and in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Haven, however important in the lessons they taught of the true foundation of government in the consent of the governed, were temporary only and clearly in conflict with the settled law of the time.

The different forms of colonial governments, the charter, the provincial, and the proprietary, are worthy of attention as indicating the want of any uniform and stable policy in the parent country, and especially in the most important feature of all, the extent of self-government granted and control reserved by the granting power; though on this last point it should be remarked that there was nothing Crown or Parliament esteemed as less binding than the solemn contract contained in a colonial charter.

Some of the charters, had they been held sacred, would have given the people of the colonies governments substantially independent. The charter creating the body politic by the name of "the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England" when the corporation was removed and the charter transferred, so that the powers of government might be used by the actual settlers, with the breadth of construction they gave to the powers granted and the rigid limitation of the powers reserved, really created an independent State.

The charter granted by Charles II. to Rhode Island established so free a government that it continued to be, with slight changes, the organic law of the State for sixty-five years after the separation; and for freedom in matters of religious concernment, was in advance of some of the present constitutions of the States of the Union. But whatever the difference of forms of government, into the consideration of which I have not time to enter, there was in all the pledge "that all subjects of the Crown who should become inhabitants in the colonies and their children born there should enjoy all the liberties, franchises, and immunities of free and natural subjects, as if they and every one of them were born within the realm of England,"—words of large import which England forgot, but the colonists did not.

The other fact to be remarked is that either by these charters or by their own acts and the acquiescence of the Crown and Parliament, they established representative assemblies, which slowly but firmly absorbed to themselves the powers of government, as the House of Commons in England has done by holding the purse and the power to say "we give and grant."

Much of the work of human life is like that of Penelope on the shroud of Laertes,—the unravelling in the night what was woven in the day. But the history of the colonies from the time of their planting to the close of the French War in 1763, with retrocession here and there, was a struggle for self-government, freedom, and the right to grow on the one hand, and for the tightening of bonds and repression on the other.

INTERIOR LIFE OF THE COLONIES.

The circumstances and conditions of the *interior life* of the colonies, which seem at first view adverse to their growth and material prosperity, were most influential in moulding the character of their institutions and opening the way to ultimate freedom and independence. The subduing of the wilderness, the conflicts with the savage, and, when the savage was quiet, with each other, bred in them hardihood and self-reliance, and a certain aptitude not to say love of combat with sword, tongue, and pen. The separation and isolation within the colonies, of town, precinct, and school district, gave the habit and practice of local government. Wherever there were people enough to have a meeting-house, school-house, tavern and store, grew up a little democracy, and these democracies, represented in the legislature, made up the State.

This attachment to local government, and jealousy and distrust of outside power by the colonists, is the key to and solution of much of their future history. Beneficent in its early results, and later when kept within reasonable bounds, it has in the great exigencies of our nation's history crippled our strength and imperilled our safety. They were attached to their charters, because they secured to them the rights and immunities of English subjects ; but their construction of the charters was always in the direction of self-government ; and to the laws of England, which restricted this right or their rights of trade and commerce, they gave the

smallest share of obedience practicable. In every stage of their history, there is constantly outcropping the opinion and sentiment that the young States were planted by their care, watered by their tears, preserved by their vigilance, the fruit of their labors, and that any attempt of the parent country to control and subordinate and sacrifice their interests to her own, was not only in violation of their rights as English subjects, but of their higher rights as men.

ACTS OF NAVIGATION AND LAWS OF TRADE.

Such was the *colonial policy* of England, as illustrated in her acts of navigation and laws of trade; she neglected the colonies, except when they grew to be sources of profit to herself, to her trade and manufactures; and then came the policy of monopoly and repression.

I remember being deeply impressed by reading some remarks made by Mr. Huskisson, one of the wisest of English statesmen, in 1826, in the House of Commons: "It is generally believed," he said, "that the attempt to tax our American colonies, without their consent, was the sole cause of the separation of those colonies from the mother country. But if the whole history of the period between the year 1763 and the year 1773 be attentively examined, it will, I think, be abundantly evident that, however the attempt at taxation may have contributed somewhat to hasten the explosion, the train had been long laid in the severe and exasperating

efforts of this country to enforce, with inopportune and increasing vigor, the strictest and most annoying regulations of our colonial and navigation code."

"Every petty adventure in which the colonists embarked was viewed by the merchants of this country and the Board of Trade of that day as an encroachment on the commercial monopoly of Great Britain. The professional subtlety of lawyers and the practical ingenuity of custom-house officers were constantly at work in ministering to the jealous but mistaken views of our seaports. Blind to the consequences elsewhere, they persevered in their attempts to put down the spirit of commercial enterprise in the people of New England until those attempts roused a very different spirit,—that spirit which ventured to look for political independence from the issue of a successful rebellion."

My own studies and reflection have led me to think that the laws of navigation and trade were, if not the proximate, perhaps the predominant and most efficient cause of separation.

The importance of their study is obvious. They show the earlier and later policy of England towards her colonies, her settled purpose to subordinate their commerce, trade, and manufactures to her own. They touched all the colonies, the Southern as well as the Northern, the tobacco of Virginia and the rice of South Carolina, as well as the lumber, fish, and cattle of New England, thus indicating to them that there were vital matters in which their interests were one.

Mr. Webster said,—I do not know whether the

remark has got into print,— that the best way to study the history of England was in her statutes at large. I cannot embody the provisions of these statutes in an address, but must content myself with a very general and, of course, imperfect outline.

The commercial monopoly did not begin with acts of Parliament, but with orders of the king, in council.

Soon after tobacco was imported into England (1621), heavy duties were laid upon it by orders of the crown. As this "daft" king in his "counterblast" had announced that the habit of smoking proceeded directly from the Evil Spirit, it is strange he did not strike at the root, and forbid the raising of the tempter's seductive enchantment. The planters sent it to Holland, when came a new order that no tobacco or other product of the colonies should thenceforth be carried into any foreign ports, until they were first landed in England and the customs paid.

The beginning of restrictive legislation, curiously enough, was with the convention or republican parliament of 1651, which confined the trade with the plantations to English or colonial built ships, belonging to English subjects, or subjects of the plantations, with the exception of such articles as should be imported directly from the original place of manufacture in Europe. This was a regulation of commerce springing from the rivalry of England with Holland, then the great carrier of the world, but as the colonies were not then building ships the result was they had to pay the English carrier his own price.

The Act of the 12th Charles II., two years after his restoration (for the English Statute Book ignores the reign of her greatest soldier and ruler), affirming the same restrictions as to ships, ordered that sugars, tobacco, and other enumerated articles, products of the plantations, should, if exported, instead of being carried directly to the place of consumption, be first landed in England, Wales, or other British plantation. To the list of enumerated articles additions were made, from time to time, of molasses, tar, pitch, turpentine, rice, furs, and many others. The object and effect of these laws was to force the colonies to sell their products in the English market only, for they could not be sold to any other people without paying the charges of freight to Great Britain, the port dues and commissions there, and a second freight to the country of sale. In substance, the command was, sell to us or not at all.

So much for the *export* trade, and the market for the sale of colonial products. An act two years later (1663) limited the *import* trade and commerce of the colonies, providing that no commodity of the growth or manufacture of Europe should be imported into the king's plantations, but what shall have been shipped in England, Wales, or town of Berwick, and in English built shipping, and carried directly to the plantations. That is, you may sell only to us and you must buy only of us, whether the thing purchased be of our growth or manufacture or not. If a man went from Boston to Scotland to buy carpeting, he must first ship to Eng-

land, pay the dues and commissions there, then find an English ship to carry it to his home, however much better or cheaper freight could be found elsewhere.

In the preamble to this act, among the reasons given for its adoption, are the keeping the colonies in "*a firmer dependence* upon England, and the 'vent' of English woolens and other manufactures and commodities."

To this point of time the intercourse of *colony with colony* had been left free, but in 1672 certain colonial products, transported from one colony to another, were subjected to duties ; for example, sugars, tobacco, and cotton wool.

In the view of the colonies these acts were not only destructive to their interests, but in violation of their charters, which secured to them the liberties, franchises, and immunities of English subjects. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island they were pretty faithfully disobeyed, and in the other New England colonies so generally that in 1675 the Lord's committee of the colonies inquired of the Lord Treasurer, Danby, with a sort of grim humor, " whether the commisioners of the customs considered the Acts as extending to New England ?"

Representations were about the same time made to the King, by English merchants and manufacturers, that the inhabitants of New England disregarded the Acts of Navigation and traded freely with all parts of Europe, by which the navigation and revenues of England were greatly injured, and their *dependence on the parent country* rendered less secure, if not totally

destroyed ; which being interpreted meant, We can't sell them our goods at our own prices; they have the folly to buy where they can buy cheapest. Their prayer was that the people of New England might be compelled to obey the laws, that is, buy of them only. The committee on plantations having heard the complaints, resolved that "the Acts should be enforced." But it was—as we have discovered in this age of resolutions—one thing to resolve and another to execute. And in 1677, we find Edward Randolph, in answer to inquiries of the committee of plantations, stating that in Massachusetts no notice was taken of the Acts of Navigation or any other laws made in England for the regulation of trade, and adding, "All nations have free liberty to come into its ports and vend their commodities without any restraint, and in this as well as other things that Government would make the world believe they are a free State and do act in all matters accordingly."

The agent of Massachusetts wrote from England "that without the laws were complied with there can nothing be expected but a total breach and all the storms of displeasure that may be." The General Court, in reply, acknowledged that they had not been observed, "because they had never received their assent, and therefore were not obligatory. They apprehended them to be an invasion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the subjects of His Majesty in the colony, they not being represented in parliament." They say, however, that as His Majesty had signified his pleasure that

the Acts should be observed in Massachusetts, they had made provision by a law of the colony that it should be attended to. This provision was the Colony Act of October, 1677. As it was frequently stated in the controversies resulting in separation, that the power of parliament in the matter of regulating commerce and the external taxation of the colonies had never been questioned, and so affirmed by Franklin in his examination before the House of Commons in 1766, and by Macaulay, apparently upon his authority, a century later, it may be well to note this declaration of the General Court of Massachusetts, as one of many instances in which that power was denied.

The revolution of 1688, which did so much to enthrone "liberty in law" in England, proved of little advantage to the colonies; none whatever in matters of trade and commerce. The Dutch king brought with him none of the spirit of commercial freedom of Holland. In 1696, when his attention had been withdrawn for a time from the affairs of the continent, the Board of Trade was authorized to inquire into the condition of the plantations, as well with regard to the administration of government, as in relation to commerce, and (here we have again the policy of England in a nutshell) "how these colonies might be rendered most beneficial to this kingdom." An act was passed about the same time for the vigorous enforcement of the Acts of Navigation, authorizing, among other things, officers "to visit, search, and seize, vessels and their cargoes, and to enter all houses and storehouses, to seize goods

illegally imported, and declaring any law or usage of the colonies in conflict with the Acts of Navigation, or with any *other law hereafter to be passed in this kingdom* relating to the plantations, null and void."

But the genius of enterprise and industry in the New England colonies was irrepressible.

In the early part of the eighteenth century the colonies, especially those of New England, had become engaged in a lucrative trade with the French, Spanish, and Dutch West Indies, the northern colonies carrying to them fish, lumber, grain, horses and cattle, and taking in exchange the products of those islands, rum, sugar, and molasses.

The English sugar-planters complained of this trade as injurious to them, and in 1733 Parliament imposed heavy duties on rum, sugar, and molasses, imported from foreign colonies ; duties so onerous as to have resulted in prohibition and the entire cutting off this branch of their trade, had the laws been fully enforced, but happily they could not be fully enforced ; the protecting ocean rolled between.

This brief outline may give you some idea of the attempts of English merchants to monopolize the trade in the *products or raw material* of the colonies.

Not less greedy and grasping were the manufacturers of England. No sooner did the colonies begin to manufacture for themselves, than the English manufacturers determined to prevent any interference with their own industries, and this not by making cheaper or better

goods, but by depriving the colonies of any right or power to compete with them.

In 1699 the policy of repression began by an Act providing that no wool yarn or woollen manufacture should be shipped or laden in the colonies, in order to be transported from thence to any place whatsoever.

In 1719 the House of Commons declared that "the erecting manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence on Great Britain." Language has been said to be an instrument for the concealment of thought. The disguise is too thin here: We should write, to *lessen* the profits of our business.

In 1731 complaints were made to parliament that "the colonies were carrying on trade, and setting up manufactories detrimental to the trade, navigation and manufactures of Great Britain." The Board of Trade, being directed to inquire, reported that such was the fact, enumerating among the manufactures, those of wool and flax, iron, paper, hats and leather. I find, however, no legislation immediately following the report.

In 1732 the company of hatters in London complained to parliament that hats in large quantities were made in New England and exported to Spain, Portugal, and the British West India Islands. Their influence procured an Act (1732), first, to prevent the exportation of hats from the colonies to foreign countries; secondly, from being carried from one colony to another; and thirdly, because folly was capable of a further step, hats were forbidden being "shipped or laden upon a horse, cart or

other carriage with the *intent* to be exported to any other plantation, or to any place whatever." It was further provided that no hatter in the colonies should employ more than two apprentices at once, or make hats unless he had served an apprentice to the trade seven years ; and that no black or negro should make a hat. One is led to ask what sort of brains were under the hats of England, to deal thus with colonies who, as Montesquieu expresses it, " had become great nations in the forests they were sent to inhabit."

The iron manufacturers were equally anxious that the dependence of the colonies on the mother country should not be lessened. In 1750 pig iron and bar iron might be imported into England duty free, but parliament prohibited the erection or *continuance* of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge, or any furnace for making steel, under the penalty of two hundred pounds. Nay, more, every such engine, plating forge, and furnace was declared a common nuisance, to be abated by the governors of the colonies, on the information of two witnesses on oath, within thirty days, or the governors to forfeit five hundred pounds for each neglect of duty.

These statutes are a faithful and abiding record of the dealings of England with her American colonies, of the narrow, jealous and selfish policy she pursued up to the time of separation in the regulation of their commerce, trade, and industries, of her settled purpose to use, restrict or suppress them for her own aggrandizement. I confess I could never read the record without

wrath and indignation ; and I do not find myself in a very amiable mood in reviewing her dealings with us since the separation. With all my reverence for her jurisprudence, and especially her muniments of personal liberty, her literature, her great masters in every department of thought, for her social and domestic virtues, to us she has been less than magnanimous, less than just.

It is of no use to say such were the policy and wisdom of the times. The colonial policy of France, Spain and Portugal was in the spirit of their own governments at home ; that of England in direct conflict with the spirit of her constitution. England was capable of wiser and better things. The questions involved were to be settled, not by a broad political economy of the freedom of commerce and industry, but by the simplest, most elementary principles of justice and right. And the folly and injustice of the whole colonial policy were laid bare by the wisest and profoundest of her writers on economical science, Adam Smith, in his lectures at the University of Glasgow, in 1748, afterwards embodied in the " Wealth of Nations," published in the year 1776 ; to the industries of the world a new declaration of independence. At the close of his great chapter on the colonial policy he denounces the English laws of trade as " a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind."

VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT OF THE NAVIGATION LAWS.

What our fathers called the French war was the final

struggle between England and France for dominion in America.

After the capture of Quebec, which really settled the issue, the claim was made in parliament to raise revenue in America to meet some share of the burdens the war had imposed on the mother country, and to defray the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the colonies.

The efforts and sacrifices the colonies had themselves made in the war were well known. Thirty thousand colonial soldiers had fallen by disease or the sword. The expenditures of Massachusetts alone had exceeded by two and a half millions of dollars the sum reimbursed by parliament, and this without resort to paper money. She had kept an average of from four to seven thousand men in the field, besides men for garrison duty and recruits for the British regiments. Parliament, in the year 1763, voted more than seven hundred thousand dollars to repay the expenses of the provinces in the last year of the war,—a direct admission that they had contributed to the common cause more than their just proportion.

Prudence would have said to the British ministry, We must deal gently with the colonies. They no longer need our protection ; they have no longer the French and the Indian on their western frontier. French statesmen and English had predicted that the taking of Canada by England might result in their independence. With almost prophetic sagacity Vergennes had said, "England will repent of having

removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection. She will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence."

Ministry and people undervalued then, as they had ever before and have ever since, the capacity and spirit of Englishmen born on American soil. This sense of superiority had been constantly shown to the American officers and troops in the seven years' war, and had alienated and wounded them. On the other hand, the intermixture of the soldiers of the colonies and the pursuit of a common end had tended to remove, to some extent, local prejudices, and to give to the colonists a sense of common interests.

In 1760 the British ministry determined to enforce the Navigation Acts with greater rigor. No time could be more inopportune for such a purpose, and this, perhaps, explains why it was selected. Orders were sent to the officers of the customs to enforce them, especially in Massachusetts where they had been openly disobeyed. For this purpose the officers applied to the Superior Court of the Province for writs of assistance, as they were called, to enable officers to break open shops, warehouses and dwelling-houses in search of goods imported in violation of these laws.

The legality of the writs was argued before the Superior Court, James Otis appearing for the merchants of Boston to contest their issue. The traditions would show that though the legality of the writ was keenly

contested, the more effective part of the argument with the people was the vigorous and eloquent attack upon the justice and validity of the whole body of the laws the writ was sought to enforce, as in violation of the charter, of the English constitution, and of natural justice.

There can be no doubt of its effect, not only upon his hearers, but upon the public mind and heart throughout the continent. It struck a chord to which all the colonies were responsive. It touched grievances they all had suffered, and for the removal of which unity of action was the only hope. John Adams puts the matter with an intensity which, with the old man eloquent, seems to have grown with years, "Otis was a flame of fire. American independence was then and there born. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain." Treating the drama of which he speaks as the *united* opposition of the colonies, the remark is just.

There can be no doubt with the careful student of our history that the practical grievances sustained by the Acts of Navigation and of Trade were many and manifold, as compared with any imposed or sought to be imposed by internal taxation. They swathed the grown man with the bandages of childhood. They dwarfed and crippled the growth of the colonies. They were not merely taxes on property acquired, but a denial of the right to acquire it. To the Northern colonies who had no great staples and could not live by agriculture alone, they were a denial of the means of living.

The difficulty was that the power of parliament to regulate the commerce of the empire had been too generally conceded, and it was not readily seen how these Acts were to be taken from under this general and comprehensive power. When, however, attention was drawn to the matter of *internal* taxation, and the attempt to raise revenue by acts of a parliament in which the colonies had no voice, it was perceived that the same objection was applicable to any laws whose direct purpose or effect was to raise a *revenue* from the colonies. The colonists were slow, however, in reaching this result. In the report of the committee on colonial rights in the Colonial Convention of 1765, at New York, it is acknowledged "that the parliament collectively considered as consisting of king, lords and commons, are the supreme legislature of the whole empire, and as such have an undoubted jurisdiction over the colonies, *so far as is consistent with our essential rights*, of which also they are and must be the final judges, and even the applications and petitions to the king and parliament to implore relief in our present difficulties will be an ample recognition of our subjection to and dependence on that legislature."

Dr. Franklin, in his examination in the House of Commons, in 1776,—the most striking of all the exhibitions of his wonderful shrewdness and tact,—declared that "the authority of parliament was allowed to be valid in all cases except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in duties to regulate commerce." One must speak with trembling under the

shadow of so great a name, but, as before shown, the records are otherwise. Nor can the distinction Franklin draws between the external duty laid on a commodity and an internal tax, to wit, that the payment of the first is voluntary and the other forced,—voluntary because the subject is not compelled to buy the commodity after the duty is added,—be regarded as sound. As applicable to the necessaries or comforts of life, there is no difference. The House of Assembly, New York, put this matter with great clearness and force the year before: "For with submission, since all *impositions*, whether they be *internal taxes* or *duties* paid *for what we consume*, equally diminish the estates upon which they are charged, what avails it to any people by which of them they are impoverished? Everything will be given to preserve life; and though there is a diversity in the means, yet the whole wealth of a country may be as effectually drawn off by the exaction of *duties* as by any other *tax* upon their estates."

The declaration of rights by the Continental Congress of 1774, after claiming for the colonies free and exclusive legislation in all cases of taxation and internal policy, indicates that on the subject of *external* taxation there had been great change and progress of opinion.

"But from the necessity of the case," says the declaration, "and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such Acts of the British parliament as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the

whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of *taxation*, internal or *external*, *for raising a revenue* on the subjects in America without their consent." It is safe to say that this distinction would soon have been found unsatisfactory; that some of the most oppressive of the laws of trade could not be said to have distinctly for their object the raising of revenue, but to secure to the English subjects on the other side of the water monopolies in trade and manufactures, not only offensive to the pride, but destructive to the interests of the English subjects in America.

They could not and ought not to have tolerated the distinction. If a man had brains and could raise wool he had a right to make a hat to cover them, and if he found iron ore in his soil he had a right to make a pot to boil his fowl or pork. These are natural home-bred rights, which no refinement of logic or policy and no force of precedent can take away or impair.

INTERNAL TAXATION.

The enforcement of the Navigation Laws was but part of the plan now entered upon to raise a revenue from the colonies. That for internal taxation soon followed, and underlying these a purpose and design so to modify the government of the colonies as to bring them more directly under the power of parliament and crown. In the winter of 1764 a resolution was adopted, without a negative vote, by parliament, that it might

"be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the colonies." On the 13th of February, 1765, the bill for the Stamp Act was introduced in the House of Commons. On the 27th it passed, with less resistance than usually was made to a common turnpike bill. On the 8th of March the bill was agreed to by the House of Lords without debate or dissenting vote. On the 22d of March it received the royal assent by commission, the king being, as now understood, insane. The distinction between internal and external taxation, if seen, was utterly disregarded by the ruling statesmen of England, if men may be called statesmen whose course was marked by such pride, weakness, vacillation, and capacity of doing the wrong thing almost every time, and the right thing at the wrong time, as characterized the British ministry and King from the close of the French war to the peace of 1783. Such a plan had been suggested to Robert Walpole and William Pitt, but their robust sense had rejected it. We could not state to-day the impolicy of these measures more forcibly than Walpole did years before they were adopted: "I will leave the *taxation* of the Americans for some of my successors who may have more *courage* than I have, and less a friend to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me during my administration to encourage the trade of the American colonies to the utmost latitude; nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe; for by encouraging them to an extensive, growing foreign commerce, if they gain £500,000, I am

convinced that in two years afterwards, full £250,000 of this gain will be in His Majesty's exchequer, by the labor and product of this kingdom, as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither, and as they increase in the foreign American trade more of our produce will be wanted. This is *taxing* them more agreeably to their own constitution and laws."

The entrance upon the policy of the internal taxation of the colonies seemed to attract as little attention with the people of England as with parliament. The question whether John Wilkes should have a seat from Middlesex was deemed of much higher moment. But whatever the state of opinion and feeling in England, in America such had been the progress of opinion that the logic of the policy was substantially settled, and the practical question was the mode of resistance. With the enforcement of the navigation laws superadded, submission to men like our fathers was impossible. One party or the other must give way. These were the entering wedges ; the acts of the next ten years were but the blows of the beetle.

The repeal of the Stamp Act was but a lull in the storm, and accompanied as it was by the assertion of the right of parliament to bind the colonies in all cases whatever, and followed by the declaration of the leader of the ministerial party in the House of Commons (Charles Townsend), "that America should be regulated and deprived of its militating and contradictory charters, and its royal governors, judges, and attorneys

rendered independent of the people," was an act of supremest folly.

The repeal was followed the next year by what was known as the Townsend Revenue Act, imposing duties on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea, making provisions for the execution of the laws already existing, for establishing a Board of Customs at Boston to collect revenue, and for legalizing writs of assistance. The line of separation distinctly drawn, discussion, increasing in intensity and bitterness, served only to widen the breach, till the colonies reached the conclusion that there was no safety in conceding to parliament any legislative power over them.

The suggestion of representatives from the colonies in parliament was impracticable. The distance, with the then means of intercourse, was too great, and the power and influence of the home government and representation would have utterly overshadowed them.

And the other system thought of for granting supplies to the crown by the colonial legislatures would, as De-Lolme suggested to Franklin, have proved unsatisfactory to the people of England, as tending directly to make the crown independent of the House of Commons. The only solution of the difficulties was separation.

If one were asked to state with precision the *legal* cause of separation he would find it difficult to give an answer. The statesmen and jurists of the colonies and of later times have never agreed upon the matter.

It is difficult to say that taxation without representation was, an hundred years ago, a violation of the rights

of the colonists as English subjects. It has been estimated that not more than a tenth part of the English people were represented in parliament. Whole communities, like the city of Manchester, had no representation. In spite of the splendid declamation of Chatham it is not plain to see how there can be *sovereign* power without the power to tax.

"Let," said Lord Chatham, "the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatever, that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatever, except that of taking money out of their pockets without their own consent." As matter of good sense the distinction cannot be maintained. If I am forbidden to use brain or hand to get money into my pocket it is useless to complain of a tax which assumes to take it out.

It does not meet the difficulty to say that "taxes were a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone." The proposition was not quite true, for the concurrence of the lords and the assent of the king were necessary to a tax. But if true, it was also true that the House of Commons was part, and the most effective part, of the sovereign power of England.

Now, assuming the existence of a constitution in England paramount to an Act of parliament, which means that an Act of parliament including king, lords and commons may be declared void by the courts, it is

not easy to see that the navigation laws were not within the sovereign power to regulate commerce.

It is easy to see that they were most flagrant *abuses* of power, that they were in violation of the spirit of the colonial charters, that they were destructive of the liberty, happiness, and growth of the colonies, that they justified and required revolution, and appeal from the constitution of England to the elder charter, on which the divine hand had written the sacred rights of human nature. Charles James Fox said, that "among the controversies that had arisen there is no other in which the natural rights of men on the one hand and the authority of artificial institutions on the other were so fairly put in issue," and the united colonies an hundred years ago to-day, declaring the causes which impelled them to the separation, put the issue on the simple ground of natural rights; averring that to secure these rights, "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it."

The declaration was *itself* the act of separation. It recognized as an *existing fact* the union of the colonies into "one people." It was "one people" dissolving the political bands that had connected them with another, and assuming its separate and equal station among the powers (or nations) of the earth. "Such had been the revolution of opinion as to the power of parliament, that the declaration ignores its existence, refusing to

recognize that the colonies had ever had any connection with or dependence upon it. Parliament is known in the declaration by the word 'others.' It charges the king with having combined with '*others*' to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of *pretended* legislation."

The *union* of the colonies was necessary for their common defence and protection, and for admission into and intercourse with the society of nations. The differences, the local prejudices, resulting from their charters and forms of government, their manners, religion, tastes, trades, and domestic policies, were for a time forgotten, or at least waived in the presence of common interest and peril, and of a common longing for larger liberty and freer development. It required no great deliberation or sagacity to decide what should be the character of their institutions or the forms of their governments.

Republican institutions were not more their purpose and aspiration than the necessity of their condition. The power of the crown taken away, there was left no material out of which to construct lords temporal or spiritual, or court or king. Indeed, so democratic had their governments grown to be that it is marvellous to see how slight a change of frame-work was necessary to convert the Province of Massachusetts Bay into the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

GOVERNMENT IN THE REVOLUTION.

There was a new nation, but without established

government. The articles of confederation, though their preparation was begun in 1776, were not submitted to the States till November, 1777, and, requiring the unanimous consent of the States, did not go into effect till March 1, 1781 ; less than eight months before the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army to the combined forces of France and the United States, and the substantial termination of the war. There was, however, a government, of somewhat indefinite powers, but a *national* government. It is sometimes called a revolutionary government, but in the instructions given by the provincial and state assemblies to their delegates will be found, I think, authority for the powers actually used by the Continental Congress.

The resolution of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, laid before Congress on the 28th of June, 1776, may be cited as an example :—

"Unite with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring the united colonies independent of Great Britain ; entering into a confederation for union and common defence ; making treaties with foreign nations for commerce and assistance, and to take such other measures as may appear to them and you necessary for these great ends ; promising to support them with the whole force of this province ; always observing, whatever plan of confederacy you enter into, the regulating the internal policies of this province is to be reserved to the Colony Legislature."

But if not by original grant its powers were certainly used with the acquiescence of the new States. If

springing from the exigencies of the new nation, Government would have expanded its powers to meet its exigencies, as did the Puritan parliament of 1645, and the convention of 1688. It declared independence, it carried on war, it organized a national army and navy ; it established prize courts ; it emitted bills of credit and contracted debts on national account ; it regulated duties on imports and exports ; it made treaties, it formed foreign alliances ; it created for six months a dictatorship ; but it consisted of a single house of delegates from the States, each State having an equal vote. Its great defect was the want of power to execute its own decrees—if it made a requisition for troops, to enforce it, or if it made a requisition for money, to levy and collect a tax.

Had there been power in the National Government to use at its will and discretion the resources of the country, the war might have been brought to a much earlier close and without foreign aid.

THE CONFEDERATION.

I am entering upon the familiar paths of history, and must hasten my steps. One lesson which our history constantly teaches us, I must venture to repeat ; it is the deeply-rooted and excessive attachment of our fathers to local government, through all its gradations, from the school district to the State ; with what firmness, even under the pressure of imminent danger to liberty and life, they refused to give to the Continental Congress adequate powers to carry on the war ; how,

when the war was over, they fell back within their old boundaries ; with what reluctance they conceded to the national government its most essential functions ; by what close and narrow construction they sought to limit and restrict the powers so reluctantly granted ; and how, when the powers of the central government have been strained, the people, the exigency past, fall back upon their old love, caring not so much for government *for* the people as government *by* the people !

It was out of this state of conviction, habit, and feeling that the confederation was begotten, born, and died. It fell from its inherent weakness. Its defects may be stated in a word :—

It was a league of States in which they had equal power.

It was without power to regulate commerce.

It legislated for States and governments instead of the individual subject or citizen.

But its greatest vice and weakness was the want of power to construe and execute its own laws. It had an indefinite discretion to call for men and money. It could not command obedience, and, as "government is not influence merely," it did not receive it. Without power to provide for the national debt to foreign nations or its own citizens, it was, from birth to death, at home and abroad, a shame and a reproach.

THE CONSTITUTION.

But this ugly adversity had a jewel in its breast. Out of this nettle danger we plucked the flower, safety.

Out of this confusion and disorder came the Constitution and solid union and living nationality. The people were very slow in reaching the conclusion that radical change was necessary. I do not think it can be fairly said that a majority of the people were in favor of the Constitution. Mr. John Quincy Adams, in his oration on the Jubilee of the Constitution, declared in his emphatic way that "the Constitution was extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people." Its adoption was one of the occasions in which the leading minds of the country had a predominant influence.

My own impression has been that the weight of Washington's opinion and character, and the expectation that he would be called upon to administer the new government, turned the scale. Fortunate man, not only in the elements of his character, but in his great opportunities,—the war for the independence of his country and the establishment for it of firm and stable yet free government! As Mont Blanc among the Alps lifts itself in simple grandeur above the surrounding summits, so in this age of great men rises the lofty form and majestic presence of him who "was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

To the genius and foresight of Hamilton, when a young man of twenty-three years, we owe perhaps the first suggestion of a national government with sovereign powers. The first proposition of a convention to revise and amend the Confederation was from the Legislature in New York, in 1782, and probably at Hamilton's suggestion. The proposition which led

directly the way to the convention which framed the Constitution came from the Legislature of Virginia, in January, 1786, for a convention from the States to regulate commerce with foreign nations. Five of the States only sent delegations to it ; but these concurred in an earnest application to Congress to call a convention to revise, amend, and *alter* the Articles of Confederation.

The delegates of twelve of the thirteen States met in May, 1787. Fortunately for the country, it was a union of men of capacity, experience, wisdom, probity, and breadth of views never surpassed in a deliberative body among men. They went beyond their instructions. Instead of simply revising or altering the Articles of Confederation, they reported a Constitution to be ordained and established by the people of the United States,—a constitution which was to act, not upon States nor through the States upon citizens of States, but directly upon citizens of the United States ; with a broad but well defined sphere of national government, within that sphere supreme and clothed with adequate powers to construe and execute its own laws. As compared with the confederation, it was a revolution. The union under the Articles of Confederation was made perpetual, and by their terms no alteration could be made in any of them unless the alteration was agreed to by Congress and confirmed by the legislature of every State. It was a compromise. In the constitution of the senate, clothed with high legislative, executive,

and judicial functions, and in other important features, the old equality of the States was continued.

The attachment to State institutions, the jealousy of central power, were the obstacles the friends of national government had to overcome in the convention and on the question of the ratification of the constitution by the people in the States. To these, fidelity to history compels us to add, the existence in a portion of the people of a spirit of hostility to law and order and any form of efficient government in state or nation, which the confusion and disorder of the times and the imbecility of government had tended to create and foster.

The new government went into operation in April, 1789. It was when, on the 30th of April, 1789, Washington was inaugurated as President, the United States really assumed "its equal station among the powers of the earth."

There were defects in the Constitution; there have been errors and defects in its administration: but in spite of these it has given to this country for eighty-seven years the most stable and beneficent government the century has known. It has settled the question whether free government is possible among men, and for the last half-century the governments of England and of the continent have, it may be unconsciously, been profiting by its example. When other matters in our history vex or wound us, as they will if we feel a stain like a wound, we may for solace turn to the proem of the Declaration and the preamble of the Constitution

as the first verses of the best chapters of the past century's history.

THE NEW CENTURY.

With what emotions, with what convictions, did we hail the dawning light of the *new* century! Were the wings of the morning those of the angel of death or of life, of despair or of hope? I answer for myself, of life and of hope; nay, more, of faith and of trust. We have causes for anxiety and watchfulness, none for despair. The evils of the time are not incurable, and the remedies, simple and efficient, are in our hands.

We have passed through a period of expenditures almost without limit, and, therefore, of infinite temptations. Wars, it would seem, especially civil wars, loosen the moral ties of society. Civil convulsions always bring more or less bad men to the surface, and some are still afloat,—men, whose patriotism not exhausted in contracts for effete muskets, spavined horses, and rotten ships, are ready and waiting for like service.

We have, in the feverish, delirious haste to get rich, which a currency capable of indefinite expansion always excites, results, more direct and palpable, in unsettling values and the foundations of public and private faith, trust, and confidence.

The evils are curable, but not by noise of words, not by sonorous resolutions without meaning, or only the meaning the very simple reader injects into their empty veins.

We may put an end to corruption by leading our-

selves honest lives, by refusing to put any man into a public trust, no matter what his qualifications or past services, who is corrupt, or suffers himself to walk on the brink, or winks at those who are wading in; by using the old-fashioned old testament prescriptions for rulers,—"Men of truth, hating covetousness." "Thou shalt take no gift." "Ye shall not be afraid of the face of man."

The evils of a vicious currency can be remedied only by return to the path of the constitution and of commercial integrity. The principles are simple and elementary. The "lawful money" of the United States is the coin of the United States, or foreign coin whose value has been regulated by Congress; that is the constitutional doctrine. Money is a thing of intrinsic value, and the standard and measure of value; that is the economical doctrine. A promise to pay a dollar is not a dollar; that is the doctrine of morality and common sense. We cannot vitalize a falsehood, make the shadow the substance, the sign the thing signified, the promise to pay itself payment. Great as is the power of Congress, it cannot change the nature of things.

So long as the power is left, or assumed to be left, to make a promise to pay payment, there will be no permanent security for the stability of values, or of public or private faith.

One other cure of corruption is open to us,—the stamping out of the doctrine that public trusts are the spoils of partisan victory. The higher councils may perhaps be changed. An administration cannot be well

conducted with a cabinet, or other officers in confidential relations, opposed to its policy; but no such reason for change applies to ninety-nine hundredths of the offices, now exposed in the market as rewards for partisan service.

Otherwise than in these evils I fail to see especial proofs of the degeneracy of the times.

Whether the men and women of this generation had fallen from the standard of their fathers and mothers, we had satisfactory evidence in the late war. I care not to dwell upon its origin or to revive its memories. The seceding States reaped as they had sown; having sown to the wind, they reaped the whirlwind. Against what was to them the most beneficent of governments, known and felt only in its blessings, they waged, it seemed to us, causeless war, for their claim to extend slavery into the new States and territories never had solid ground of law or policy or humanity to rest upon; they struck at the flag in which were enfolded our most precious hopes for ourselves and for mankind. They could not expect a great nation to be so false to duty as not to defend, at every cost, its integrity and life.

But while, as matter of good sense and logic, the question seemed to us so plain a one; that the Union meant nothing if a State might at its election withdraw from it; that under the Articles of Confederation the Union had been made perpetual; that the Constitution was adapted to form a more "perfect union" than that of the Confederation, more comprehensive, direct, and efficient in power, and not less durable in time; that

there was no word in it looking to separation; that it had careful provisions for its amendment, none for its abrogation; capacity for expansion, none for contraction; a door for new States to come in, none for old or new to go out; we should find that, after all, upon the question of legal construction, learned and philosophical statesmen had reached a different conclusion; we should find, also, what as students of human nature we should be surprised not to find, that the opinions of men on this question had, at different times and in different sections of the country, been more or less moulded, biased and warped by the effects, or supposed effects, which the policy of the central power had on the material interests and institutions of the States. Such examination, not impairing the strength of our convictions, might chasten our pride. But aside from the logic, men must be assumed to be honest, however misguided, who are ready to die for the faith that is in them.

But not dwelling upon causes, but comparing the conduct of the war with that of the Revolution, I do not hesitate to say that in the loyalty and devotion of the people to country; in the readiness to sacrifice property, health, and life for her safety; in the temper and spirit in which the war was carried on; in the supply of resources to the army, men as well as money; in the blessed ministrations of woman to the sick, wounded, or dying soldier; in the courage and pluck evinced on both sides; in the magnanimity and forbearance of the victors, the history of the late war shows

no touch of degeneracy, shows, indeed, a century of progress.

If its peculations and corruptions were more conspicuous, it was because of the vaster amounts expended and the vastly greater opportunities and temptations to avarice and fraud. The recently published letters of Col. Pickering furnish additional evidence of the frauds and peculations in the supplies to the armies of the Revolution and of the neglect of the States to provide food and clothing for the soldiers, when many of the people, for whose liberties they were struggling, were living in comparative ease and luxury. The world moves.

There is one criterion of which I cannot forbear to speak, the conduct of the soldiers of the late war upon the return of peace; how quietly and contentedly they came back from the excitements of the battle-field and camp to the quiet of home life, and to all the duties of citizenship; with a coat, perhaps, where one sleeve was useless, with a leg that had a crutch for comrade, but with the heart always in the right place!

The burdens of the war are yet with us; the vast debt created, these heavy taxes consuming the very seed of future harvests; the vacant seats at the fireside. Fifteen years, and half a generation of men, have passed away since the conflict of opinion ripened into the conflict of arms. They have been years of terrible anxiety and of the sickness of hope deferred; yet if their record could be blotted from the book of life, if the grave could give up its noble dead, and all the

waste spots, moral and material, resume the verdure of the spring-time, no one of us would return to the state of things in 1860, with the curse of slavery hanging over us and the fires of discord smouldering beneath us. The root of alienation, bitterness, and hate has been wrenched out, and henceforth union and peace are at least possible.

We have no right, the Roman moralist would tell us, and no cause, to despair of the republic.

The elements of material prosperity are all with us; this magnificent country, resonant with the murmurs of two oceans, with every variety of soil, climate, and production to satisfy the tastes or wants of man; with its millions of acres of new lands beckoning for the plough and spade; with its mountains of coal and iron and copper, and its veins of silver and gold waiting like Enceladus to be delivered; its lakes, inland seas; its rivers the highways of nations. We have bound its most distant parts together with bands of iron and steel; we have answered the question of Job; we send the lightnings over it "that they may go, and say unto us, Here we are."

We have all the tools of the industries and arts which the cunning brain of man has invented and his supple fingers learned to use, and abundant capital, the reserved fruits of labor, seeking a chance for planting and increase.

The means of intellectual growth are with us. We have in most of the States systems of education opening to every child the paths to knowledge and to good-

ness; destined, we hope, to be universal. And he who in our day has learned to read in his mother-tongue may be said to have all knowledge for empire.

And our laws, though by no means perfect, were never so wise, equal, and just as now; never so infused with the principles of natural justice and equity, as to-day. Indeed, in no department of human thought and activity has there been in the last century more intelligent progress than in our jurisprudence.

Whatever may be said of creeds and formulas of faith, there never was so much practical Christianity as now; as to wealth, so large a sense of stewardship; as to labor, so high a recognition of its rights and dignity; into the wounds of suffering humanity never the pouring of so much oil and wine; never was man as man, or woman as woman, of such worth as to-day.

In spite of criticism we have yet the example and inspiration of that life in which the human and the divine were blended into one.

In spite of philosophy, God yet sits serenely on his throne, his watchful providence over us, his almighty arm beneath us and upholding us.

For an hundred years this nation, having in trust the largest hopes of freedom and humanity, has endured. There have been whirlwind and tempest; "it has mastered them, bending only as Landor says the oak bends before the passing wind, to rise again in its majesty and in its strength." It has come out of the fiery furnace of civil war, its seemingly mortal plague-spot cauterized and burned out, leaving for us to-day a republic

capable of almost infinite expansion, in which central power may be reconciled with local independence, and the largest liberty with the firmest order.

Stanch, with every sail set, her flag with no star erased, this goodly Ship of State floats on the bosom of the new century.

In her we "have garnered up our hearts, where we must either live or bear no life."

And now, God of our fathers, what wait we for but thy blessing? Let thy breath fill her sails, thy presence be her sunshine. If darkness and the tempest come, give her, as of old, pilots that can weather the storm.

PROCESSIONS, DECORATIONS

AND

ILLUMINATIONS.

PROCESSIONS.

For some days before the Fourth of July, signs of preparation for the Centennial Anniversary were abundant. Bunting hung in festoons here and there on the fronts of Main street buildings, and other forms of decoration were occasionally seen. The dry goods dealers tempted their customers with a liberal display of the national colors in bunting and other fabrics, and there was a brisk trade in colored lanterns and other illuminating devices. Little other business, in fact, was done for a week before the day than that which, in one way or another, concerned the preparations for the grand display. Taste and invention were tasked to devise and skilful hands to execute the varied forms of decoration demanded for buildings and grounds and for the elaborate pageant of the processions. The means of making exultant patriotic and other noises were, of course, provided in abundance.

The first stroke of midnight was the signal for a general outburst of explosive patriotism, to which every sound-producing instrument yet devised by man contributed. This, however, was unorganized and desultory jubilation. At sunrise the systematic ringing of bells and cannon firing began. At about the same time, or soon after, the parade of the "Studlefunk Brigade" took place. This was a succession of grotesque representations, many of them with a satirical purpose and showing much humor in the design and considerable skill in execution. This beginning of the day's festivities brought out great numbers of the people, and the streets were crowded with amused and applauding throngs.

The most notable event of the day after the Concert of the Pupils of the Public Schools, in the great tent on the Common,

at 7.45 A. M., was the Military and Civic Procession, which took up its line of March through Main street to Wellington street and *via* Wellington, Chandler, Irving, Pleasant, Ashland, Elm, Oak, Cedar, Chestnut, Bowdoin, Harvard, Highland and Main streets to Mechanics Hall, and after leaving the City Government at the Hall, through Main and Park streets to Salem square, in the following order:—

Detachment of Mounted Police, under command of JOSEPH M. DYSON.

Chief Marshal, GENERAL JOSIAH PICKETT.

Chief of Staff, MAJOR E. T. RAYMOND.

Aids, Gen. A. B. R. Sprague,
Gen. Arthur A. Goodell,
Surgeon J. Marcus Rice,
Capt. T. S. Johnson,
Capt. David M. Earle,

Aids, Gen. William S. Lincoln,
Gen. D. D. Wiley,
Major L. G. White,
Capt. C. S. Chapin,
Lieut. W. B. Harding,

Aids, Sergt. Harlan Fairbanks,
Henry A. Marsh,
Dr. F. J. McNulty,
Stephen Salisbury, Jr.
Henry M. Witter,

Aids, Dr. Napoleon Jacques,
R. M. Gould,
John N. Morse, Jr.
Albert A. Lovell.

FIRST DIVISION.

Worcester Brass Band, T. C. Richardson, leader, 21 pieces.

Marshal, General Robert H. Chamberlain.

Assistant Marshals, Colonel J. M. Drennan, Captain W. S. Lincoln, Lieutenant D. F. Parker.

Worcester Light Infantry, Captain Levi Lincoln, commanding, 36 men.

Worcester City Guards, Lieutenant E. R. Shumway, commanding, 35 men.

City Government, Orator of the Day, and Invited Guests, in 15 carriages.

Fifth Battery Light Artillery, Captain J. G. Rice, commanding, 8 guns, 54 men.

SECOND DIVISION.

French Band, P. H. A. Baribeault, leader, 21 pieces.

Marshal, Major Nathan Taylor.

Assistant Marshals, Lieutenant C. N. Hair, Dana K. Fitch, Lieutenant George W. Brady.

Worcester Continentals, Colonel W. S. B. Hopkins, commanding, 83 men.*

Johnson's Drum Corps, 13 pieces.

Post 10, G. A. R., Commander J. B. Lamb, commanding, 86 men.

St. Jean Baptiste Society.—President, Joseph Marchessault; Vice-President, Urgele Jacques; 2d Vice-President, Louis Verner; Recording Secretary, A. Faucher; Treasurer, Narcise Boulax, 180 men.

St. Andrew's Society.—President, William Finlay; Vice-President, James Little; Recording Secretary, William McKenzie; Treasurer, John Provan; Marshal, George B. Grasse; Standard Bearers, John Harning, George Weir, 75 men.

THIRD DIVISION.

Father Mathew Temperance Band, J. B. Waters, leader, 23 pieces.

Marshal, Andrew Athy, Esq.

Assistant Marshals, John J. O'Gorman, Lieutenant James Cullen, Captain Geo. B. Chandley, Wm. Hickey.

Sarsfield Guards, Captain M. H. Murphy, commanding, 36 men.

Father Mathew Temperance Society.—President, James H. Mellen; Vice-President, Patrick C. Conlin; Recording Secretary, Patrick O'Connor; Treasurer, Timothy Murphy, 190 men.

Father Mathew Temperance Cadets.—Captain, James Doyle; Lieutenant, James Mahoney, 80 boys.

Irish Catholic Benevolent Society.—President, John L. Murphy; Vice-President, William Kickham; Recording Secretary, John Timon; Treasurer, Jeremiah Murphy, 120 men.

Ancient Order of Hibernians.—Division No. 1: President, John J. O'Gorman; Vice-President, Stephen Haggerty; Recording Secretary, Andrew O'Leary; Treasurer, Phillip Moore, 200 men.

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*"The Worcester Continentals," an independent military organization, made their first appearance in public on this occasion. Their uniform was in the style of that of the officers of the Continental army in the Revolution.

Division No. 2: President, Andrew Athy; Vice-President, Richard Matthews; Recording Secretary, John Landers; Treasurer, William Collins, 150 men.

Division No. 3: President, John Kelley; Vice-President, Bartley Lavin; Recording Secretary, Dominick Lavin; Treasurer, John Moore, 130 men.

FOURTH DIVISION.

Worcester National Band, A. W. Ingraham, leader, 20 pieces.

Marshal, Alzirus Brown, Esq.

Assistant Marshals, S. M. Richardson, R. J. Tatman, John Lagassy.

Worcester Fire Department.—Chief Engineer, Simon E. Combs, mounted; Assistant Engineers, William Brophy, John W. Loring, Samuel H. Day, G. N. Rawson.

Steamer Old Governor Lincoln. 4 horses, 12 men, ex-members of the Company, under command of Phineas Guild.

Steamer Governor Lincoln Hose Carriage, 2 horses.

Steamer Governor Lincoln, No. 1, 4 horses, 12 men; Charles Allen, foreman.

Hook and Ladder John W. Loring, No. 1, 4 horses, 20 men; P. L. Church, foreman.

City Hose, No. 1, 2 horses, 10 men; Henry E. Robbins, foreman.

Protector Hose, No. 7, 2 horses, 10 men; Samuel Barnes, foreman.

Steamer Fire King, No. 3, 4 horses.

Mount Vernon Hose, No. 8, 2 horses, 10 men; J. H. Townsend, foreman.

Ocean Hose, No. 2, 2 horses, 10 men; David Boland, foreman.

Steamer S. E. Combs, No. 2 Hose Carriage, 2 horses.

Steamer S. E. Combs, No. 2, 4 horses, 12 men; M. C. Viall, foreman.

Niagara Hose, No. 4, 2 horses, 10 men; V. A. Lonsby, foreman.

Steamer Rapid, No 4 Hose Carriage, 2 horses.

Steamer Rapid, No. 4, 4 horses, 12 men; George W. Dickinson, foreman.

Relief Hook and Ladder, No. 3, 4 horses.

Fire Patrol, 4 horses, 8 men; Hiram Williamson, foreman.

Babcock Extinguisher, No. 1, 2 horses, 4 men; O. J. Buzzell, assistant foreman.

Eagle Hose Company, No. 3, 2 horses, 10 men; E. J. Fogerty, foreman.

Steamer A. B. Lovell Hose Carriage, 2 horses.

Steamer A. B. Lovell, No. 3, 4 horses, 10 men; E. J. Watson, foreman.

Yankee Hose Company, No. 5, 2 horses, 10 men; Joseph Bolio, foreman.

Tiger Hose Company, No. 6, 1 horse, 10 men, Geo. S. Coleman, foreman.

Hook and Ladder No. 2, 4 horses, 20 men; Jeremiah Hennessy, foreman.

In the line were over 1,000 men, and their general appearance was much admired.

The next, and the most brilliant and attractive display of all, was the "Trades Procession," which name is not comprehensive enough to include all its features, though it fairly describes its general character. It was admirably organized, and in its details gave either a suggestion or an elaborate representation of nearly every kind of business, except those commonly called professional, carried on in the city. The great length of the procession, the variety of its constitnents, the display of gay colors and brilliant metal and the ingenious and effective designs, wrought out with a patience and skill seldom devoted to the elements of a single day's pageant, made it a series of admirable and satisfying spectacles. The route of this procession was from Lincoln square to Webster square and back again, and it was so long that its head had made two-thirds of the return march when the rear had traveled only one third of the distance from the point of departure. In the line were 413 teams and nearly 800 horses. This procession was organized in eight divisions, each of which was led by an elaborately-decorated car, representing some nation of those from which the inhabitants of Worcester derive their origin. The procession moved in the following order:

Detachment of Mounted Police.

Chief Marshal, Gen. Josiah Pickett, and his Staff.

Escort:

Battalion of Mounted Butchers, Charles Belcher, commanding. 162 men.

FIRST DIVISION.

The First Division was composed chiefly of representative displays of workers in metals and machinery, General R. H. Chamberlain, marshal; Col. J. M. Drennan, Capt. W. S. Lincoln, Capt. John G. Rice, assistant marshals. Worcester Brass Band, 21 pieces, T. C. Richardson, leader.

EMBLEM,—AMERICA.

The car was in the form of a chariot, which was twenty feet long, twelve feet wide and seventeen feet high. The sides, the tops of which were seven feet from the ground, were heavily festooned with red, white and blue, with white and maroon for a background. A canopy of red, white and blue and national flags covered the car, being semi-circular in form at the rear. On the sides, hung at the gatherings of the festoons, were six large shields bearing the coat of arms of the United States. Under the semi-circular section of the canopy, seated on a raised platform, ten feet from the ground, was a young lady, Miss Kinney, representing the United States. She wore a Roman toga, ornamented with stars of gold, and upon her head was a helmet of white silk velvet of unique design, ornamented with golden stars. The national colors enveloped her dress below the toga, and fell in graceful folds upon the platform on which she was seated. Below, overlooked by the central figure, were seated thirteen young ladies dressed in white and wearing wreaths of laurel, representing the thirteen original Colonies. The representatives of the Colonies were Misses Mary P. Matoon, Minnie W. Tarbell, Isabel J. Gibbs, Ella L. Taft, Mary E. Drennan, Mary G. Messenger, Emma L. Sutton, Stella G. Alton, Anna M. Rice, Mary E. Sherman, Lizzie F. Daniels, Louisa M. Gunderson, Julia R. Walker.

Each of these young ladies supported a shield upon which the name of the Colony she represented was painted in ornamental letters. On one side of the central figure was a large shield of the United States, and on the other was a sword and American eagle. The whole was drawn by six handsome gray horses. Six Continentals, mounted, acted as escort to the car.

SECOND DIVISION.

The Second Division comprised chiefly representatives of the furniture, book, harness, trunk and musical instrument trades and hatters. Major Nathan Taylor, marshal; Lieut. Chas. N. Hair, Lieut. George W. Brady, Dana K. Fitch, assistant marshals. French Band, 24 pieces, in a carriage.

EMBLEM,—FRANCE.

The car, twenty-two feet long and ten wide, was drawn by six horses, ridden by knights in glittering mail. In the centre was a large canopy, trimmed with evergreen and gold fringe. At the front was a pictorial design of the Bell of Liberty, flanked on either side by a French Zouave and an American soldier. Perched on the top of the bell were the white monarchical flag of France in 1776, and the American flag with thirteen stars. Between the flags was a shield, with the inscription, "Les sons de la cloche de la Liberté ont été entendus par la France,"—the peals of the liberty bell have been heard by France. The design at the end of the car was a trophy of flags, with shields, inscribed, "The friendship of France and America has been continuous for a century. May it last forever." On the top of the canopy columns were the French tricolor and American flags, with shields bearing the names of McMahon and Grant. Around the bottom of the platform was a rich tricolor drapery, covered with shields, on which were inscribed Marion, De Grasse, Rochambeau, D'Estaing, Brandywine, Yorktown; Longfellow and Victor Hugo, poets; Powers and Bartholdi, arts; De Tocqueville and Claudio Jamet, historians. In the canopy facing to the front was a goddess (Miss C. Lacroix), dressed in white satin, holding a white flag—le drapeau fleurdelisé—in one hand; and in the other, resting on the cushion, was a diadem. In front, to the right, stood Lafayette (Henry Escousse), dressed in a continental suit of blue satin. On the left stood Washington (Cyrille Paquette), dressed in a black velvet suit, richly ornamented with beads, a fac-simile of the suit worn at Lady Washington's receptions. Over their heads was a shield, inscribed "Washington, Lafayette," and the flags of monarchical France and of America. Over all of this representation of the revolutionary

period, showing the friendship of the two countries, waved the French white and American flags, while the date, 1776, indicated the date of the event. The rear half of the car was devoted to a representation of 1876.

In the canopy facing the end of the wagon was a French Goddess of Liberty (Miss A. Lacoste), dressed in blue satin, and holding the French tricolor. Facing her on one side was a French Zouave, and on the other an American infantry-man, represented respectively by Léon Robert and John B. Lepire, each bearing the flag of his country. Two soldiers, one of each nation, were also represented by MM. E. Pleau and H. St. George. The guard of honor consisted of six mounted pages, dressed in a brilliant costume of the sixteenth century, with feathered caps and capes of maroon velvet, with white satin puffs. They each carried a small banner of red, white and blue, with gold fringe. In the corners were 1776 and 1876, while suitable mottoes were inscribed in the centre. The pages were Dr. Louis Verner, L. A. Letourneau, Frank A. Payan, H. M. Couture, N. P. Huot and A. Charbonneau.

The drapery and general decoration of the car were tasteful and elaborate, and reflected much credit upon the following committee, named at a meeting of the French residents of this city, to whom had been offered the honor of representing France, their mother country: Ferd. Gagnon, president; Léon Robert, John J. B. Primeau, Dr. N. Jacques, Dr. L. Verner, A. G. Lalime, Wm. Arrouquier, A. Charbonneau, P. Langlois, Henry Escousse, A. Belisle and L. A. Letourneau. The committee followed the car in two carriages.

THIRD DIVISION.

The Third Division contained the display of the makers of farming tools and machinery, milkmen, florists and farmers. Charles B. Pratt, marshal; Waldo E. Sessons, John S. Brigham, George A. Barnard, assistant marshals.

EMBLEM,—FLORA.

The goddess and her two attendant priestesses, were represented in a Roman triumphal car, with Roman costumes and

decorations. They were surrounded by the four seasons, each with two attendants, forming a group of twelve, appropriate to the months of the year. The palms and other tropical plants which were used in adorning the car were beautiful, one gorgeous palm, which crowned the whole, being nine feet high, and the leaves a yard across. The shape of the car was oval, with pedestal in the centre, and the gilding and painting was very rich and elaborate. It was decorated with several Latin mottoes, following a common Italian custom. The work of arranging this emblem devolved on Mr. John G. Heywood and S. Salisbury, Jr., who were assisted by Messrs. Thomas O. Alexander and Eugene Hilton, who did the painting and gilding; and by Messrs. John Coulson and Thomas Murphy, gardeners for Messrs. Salisbury and Heywood, who assisted in the floral work, the plants being furnished from the greenhouses of Mr. Salisbury. The parts were taken by fifteen young ladies of the High School. Miss Jennie B. Willard was Flora, and her companions were Misses Abbie F. Wood, Hattie G. Gates, F. Josie Kinsley, Emma F. Dearborn, Emma Goddard, Effie M. Riley, Ginevra J. Lawler, Mary J. Walker, Mary L. Fifield, Minnie Rawson, Carrie E. Griggs, M. Gertrude Griggs, Abbie L. Stearns, and Florence A. Gates.

FOURTH DIVISION.

The Fourth Division contained representatives of the grocers and provision dealers, bakers, confectioners and liquor dealers. Colonel J. A. Titus, marshal; Capt. George M. Woodward, Lieut. E. W. Wellington, Capt. William McCready, assistant marshals.

EMBLEM,—SCOTLAND.

The car representing Scotland was 18 feet long and 8 feet wide, and was drawn by four black horses, ridden by two postillions in Highland costume. The frame-work consisted of four columns, one at each corner of the platform. Springing from the tops of the columns were four graceful ogee braces, reaching to the top of an elevated central column, on which was a platform three feet in diameter, where stood a blooming Scotch thistle, five feet high. Springing from this platform were arches, over-topping the thistle, with the old defiant motto,

"*Nemo me impune lacessit*," translated on the opposite side as "Touch me not with impunity." The ends were finished with half-circle arches, St. Andrew's Cross filling the space from the bottom edge of the front arch to a brace across the top of the corner columns. The cross was handsomely decorated with spines of the thistle in full bloom. On the top of the front arch, over the cross, was a large bunch of blooming heather, imported from Scotland. On the rear arch, the space was filled by an oval frame, containing a suspended floral crown.

The front arch bore the inscription, "From the heath-covered mountains of Scotland we come." On the rear arch, "Here's a health, bonnie Scotland, to thee." The side rails, from front to rear columns, were decorated with a box plaiting of royal Stuart plaid ribbon, nine inches wide, over which was festooned a heavy gold bullion fringe, four inches wide. The bottoms of the front and rear arches were trimmed similarly. A deck, the whole length on each side of the car, was suspended four feet below the platform, on which rode the guard of honor. The background of the lower decorations was of red and blue; over this, and entwined at every point possible, the trimmings were of Scotch plaids of the clans Gordon, Argyle, McGregor, Forbes and royal Stuart. Shields, flags and flowers put on the finishing touches to the decorations.

Nine characters were presented: Sir William Wallace by J. McGregor Smith, and Robert Bruce by J. L. Scott, representing national independence, were clad in armor, Wallace bearing a claymore, and Bruce a battle axe. The shield of the former was inscribed, "Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled," and of the latter, "Scots, wham Bruce hath aften led." Poetry was represented by Robert Burns (Alexander Thomson), and Sir Walter Scott (William Finlay). Burns was standing at the plough, dressed in the antique ploughman's suit of his day, and over him stood "Colia" (Miss Jennie B. Weir), dressed in white, with a royal Stuart tartan sash across her shoulder, and on her head a wreath of holly, placing a mantle of Gordon tartan on his shoulders. The idea presented was taken from the poet's own words, "The Poetic Genius of my country found me as the prophet bard Elijah did Elisha at the plough, and threw her inspiring mantle over

me." On the plough was the motto, "A man's a man for a' that." Sir Walter Scott was dressed in a gray tweed suit, with a shepherd's plaid thrown over his shoulders and a Kilmarnock bonnet on his head. A handsome pointer dog lay at his side. On his shield was the inscription, "This is my own, my native land." Mechanical industry was represented in James Watt, by John Speirs. He was dressed as a mechanic, with paper cap. At his side stood a painting representing a fire-place with a boiling tea-kettle, steam rushing from its spout; also a small steam engine. His shield was inscribed, "The first conception of steam power. James Watt, 1760."

The next character was John Knox, the Presbyterian minister, the founder of parochial schools and religious emancipation. He was represented by Hugh Brown, who was dressed in a clergyman's garb of 1560, standing at a desk. The inscription on his shield was, "John Knox, 1560. I stipulate that the People be Educated." At the front of the car stood Alex. Buchanan, piper of the Boston Caledonian Club, in full costume, entertaining all hearts with Scotch airs. At the rear of the car stood ex-Chief Wm. Grant, of the Boston club, in an elegant Highland costume, representing a modern Highlander. Master James W. Thomson acted as page, dressed in full Highland costume.

The guard of honor to the car was a delegation of chieftains and clansmen from the Boston Caledonian Club, dressed in full Highland costume, viz: Munroe Ross and Robert Barnes, with battle-axes; Hugh Sinclair and John Adam, standard bearers; James B. Hill and James Johnstone, with claymores. The committee, accompanied by Chief J. G. McCormick, of Boston, and G. B. Grassie, of Bolton, the two latter dressed in magnificent Highland costumes, followed the car in open barouches. The car was constructed and decorated by a committee appointed by the Worcester St. Andrew's Benefit Society, consisting of the following gentlemen: Wm. McKenzie, chairman; Thomas Provan, George Weir, James Speirs, John Haining, Hugh Brown, treasurer; and John W. Dobbie, secretary.

FIFTH DIVISION.

The Fifth Division comprised representatives of the business in coal, stone and ice. Andrew Athy, marshal; J. J. O'Gorman, Capt. George B. Chandley, Lieut. James Cullen, William Hickey, assistant marshals. Father Mathew Temperance Band, in a carriage.

EMBLEM,—IRELAND.

The car representing Ireland was preceded by a procession of ancient Irish kings, chieftains and warriors, in the following order: Gallowglass chieftain, in green and gold tunic, saffron trunks and hose, carrying an ancient battle-axe (Timothy Cronin); three trumpeters, in costumes of the regiment of Lord Clare, of the Irish brigade which took part in the Battle of Fontenoy, May 11, 1745—Daniel Savage, John Riorden, John P. O'Connell; King Brian Boru, as he appeared when leading the Irish army to battle against the Danes, at Clontarf, near Dublin, on Good Friday, 1014. He wore a crown studded with precious stones, saffron-trimmed tunic, embroidered with gold, saffron trunks and hose, red sandals, a long, flowing mantle of green velvet, lined with scarlet satin, trimmed elaborately with bullion and adorned with precious stones, holding in his hand the royal sceptre (Maurice O'Flynn). King's pages: Four pages, in green and gold—two on each side—one holding the horse's bridle and the other the King's mantle (John P. O'Leary, Bernard O'Rourke, Patrick McDermott, J. J. Lynch); four Gallowglasses, in flowing cloaks of saffron and gold, brass helmets, each armed with a battle-axe (James Kelly, Thomas Finneran, Patrick Morrissy, Michael Brown); Standard Bearer, in Gallowglass costume, carrying an Irish flag (Eneas Lombard); Roderick O'Connor, last king of Ireland. He wore a crown of gold, adorned with a plume of emerald green, a richly-embroidered tunic of green and gold, white satin-spangled tights, an embroidered golden harp on his breast and a flowing robe of white satin (Jeremiah F. Healey); Guard to King—two ancient Fenians, in armor, each carrying pike and skein (James McGrath, Patrick Hackett).

The car was drawn by six horses, each horse accompanied by two ancient Irish soldiers, in Gallowglass costumes, carrying

battle-axes, represented by John Delany, Thomas Leahy, M. Cronin, John O. Toner, John Walsh, Mark Duggan, Patrick O'Hara, Patrick Casey, Dennis Hines. The car was twenty-two feet in length, twelve feet in width and fifteen feet high. Hibernia was seated on a raised platform in the centre of the car, beneath a canopy, surmounted by an Irish flag; from the top of the canopy a streamer extended to each of the four corner posts of the car, each post being surmounted by an Irish flag. Miss Annie Condon, representing Hibernia, was splendidly dressed in green, saffron and gold, with a crown of gold set with emeralds. She was attended by four young ladies, dressed in white, with green sashes and wreaths upon their heads. They were seated on a lower platform, on each side of Hibernia. The young ladies' names were Miss Julia Mahoney, Miss Eliza Fitzgerald, Miss Maggie E. Kenney, Miss Mary E. Melavin. At the feet of Hibernia was seated an ancient Irish harper, with harp in hand, with long, flowing white hair and beard, wine-colored tunic, saffron hose and red sandals; represented by Michael Murtagh.

On each corner of the car stood four Irish Chieftains, clad in glittering armor, with helmets, visors and drawn swords, each supporting a shield, on which was inscribed the name of one of the four provinces of Ireland, as follows: Ulster, Michael Ford; Leinster, Thomas Sweeney; Munster, Maurice Cronin; Connaught, Kiernan Murray. In the centre of the rear of the car stood an ancient Fenian Chief, in charge of a magnificent Irish flag (John A. Kelly).

The car was handsomely decorated with the national colors of the United States and of Ireland, intermingled with streamers of green, white and gold, profusely trimmed with evergreen wreaths and flowers. From the platform of the car to the ground, on red drapery, which entirely concealed the wheels of the car, were arranged shields, thirty-two in number, designating the thirty-two counties of Ireland; around each were festoons of evergreen, and between these were festoons of red, white and gold.

Following the Emblem Car, was an Irish Jaunting Car, on which were seated four venerable Irish gentlemen: William Fitzgerald, Henry G. Roche, Michael O'Hagan and James McGlinchy; driven by Michael Early.

The committee who designed and had charge of the representation followed in a carriage: Frank M. Drennan, John L. Murphy, John Keney and Matthew O'Meara.

The general management of the representation was assumed by delegates from the Irish societies of the city, of which Patrick C. Conlin was chairman, and Richard O'Flynn secretary and treasurer; valuable assistance being rendered by the citizens at large.

SIXTH DIVISION.

The Sixth Division included the express companies, stables, city teams, water carts, &c. Alzirus Brown, marshal; Capt. E. A. Wood, S. M. Richardson, R. J. Tatman, assistant marshals.

EMBLEM,—ENGLAND.

The Car of England in the procession was twenty feet in length and ten feet in width, the general design being in the shape of a ship, to represent that country's vast merchant navy and commerce. In the centre, seated on a large, solitary rock, with the lion crouched at her feet, was Britannia (Mrs. James Pursey), dressed as usually represented in the arts, with scale-armor bust, helmet, &c., holding in her right hand the trident, her left resting on the shield. On either side of this central figure stood a British soldier (Mr. Freeman), and sailor (Mr. C. W. Walls), on projections of the platform of the car; and between them and the rock were placed trophies suitable to each—that behind the sailor being a full-rigged ship with all sails set, and behind the soldier a cannon, pile of shot, &c. At the four corners of the car were placed the principal colonies of England, viz: Australia (Mr. Richard Holt), India (Mr. John Wood), Canada (Mr. Henry Cole), West Indies (Mr. Charles Nuttal); beneath each of which was a shield, inscribed with the coat of arms of the colony, the costumes of the figures being those worn in each country. Life-size busts of Milton, Byron, Shakespeare, and Newton, represented literature and science,—these being also placed at the corners of the car, and facing diagonally outwards. On the projections from the car, by the side of each of the six figures, was a staff eight feet high, surmounted by a

gold spear-head, supporting a banner of white and gold, bearing the name of the colony or profession in scarlet. In the rear end of the car was a blacksmith (Mr. R. Hoyle), with anvil, hammer, &c., representing the mechanical arts.

The decorations and trimmings were mainly scarlet—the English color. The body of the car was box-plaited to within six inches of the ground, with scarlet, having a fringe, a foot in depth, of deep blue, edged with gold and studded with gold lions. Around the edge of the platform ran a line of evergreens, festoons of the same hanging beneath it. Over the stern of the ship hung the "English ensign" and the "stars and stripes," looped up together, and falling in graceful folds almost to the ground. A canopy, surmounted by a Tudor crown, from which sprung a small pennon, shaded the central figure of Britannia, the supports of the canopy covered with evergreens, forming arches which sprung from the base of the rock. This canopy was white, with a fringe of scarlet edged with gold and gold lions on the ground of it. Four scarlet and gold pennons, attached to staffs with gold spear-heads, rose from the spring of the arches, and from the bow of the ship was suspended an anchor.

Mr. W. H. Johnson, dressed as Neptune, drove the car, which was drawn by four horses, whose harness was trimmed with red, white and blue. Following the car were the committee of arrangements, in carriages: Mr. S. P. Triscott, chairman; Mr. George Cleveland, Mr. John Dawson, Mr. W. T. Back, Mr. I Davis, Mr. C. F. Lawrence, Mr. James Broadbent.

SEVENTH DIVISION.

The Seventh Division represented the lumber dealers, blacksmiths, slaters, potters, drain pipe makers &c. A. B. Lovell, marshal; J. W. Jordan, L. C. Kenney, Hermann A. Lange, assistant marshals. Worcester National Band, in a carriage.

EMBLEM,—GERMANY.

The German Car was twenty-three feet long, eight feet wide and fifteen feet high, built to represent the old castle Kyffhäuser, a ruin in Thuringia, of which a legend tells us of Frederick

I. the German Roman emperor, resting under its walls, and awakening every one hundred years, when he details his attendants to ascertain if Germany is prepared to be united, and if not he returns to the vaults for another hundred years' sleep. The work on this tower was admirably done, the ruin being well-represented. Ivies and mosses were clinging to the sides, and a terrace formed the base, with green grass and small oak trees growing thereon. Seated on a throne at the base of the tower, and resting partially against it, was Germania, a beautiful figure, dressed throughout in rich black velvet. Embroidered on the breast was a handsome golden eagle, and about her waist an elegant sword belt. In her left hand she supported an elegant flag of Germany moving above the tower, while her right hand rested on the hilt of a drawn sword. On her head she wore a beautiful coronet, with two miniature castles worked in the front. Below Germania was a group of three of the Muses, representing music, art and history. The corners of the car were guarded by Halberdiers, who appeared able to repress all attempts at invasion. Turners and students, in their respective uniforms, occupied positions at the sides. The wagon was also heavily draped with German colors, showing in each festoon a different color of the principal German States. The driver of the six horses drawing the chariot was clad in the costume of Arminius, the Prince of the Cheruscan tribe. Two Uhlans, two hussars, a cuirassier and artillerist, representing the four mounted corps of the German army, formed an escort to the car. The horses were also handsomely decorated with the German colors. Committee of arrangements: R. Volkmar, Pres., Ch. Schlenker, Sec., Benj. Zaeder, Rud. Häcker, Leop. Strauss, Ph. Dutten, Jul. Gunther, Aug. Bühler, Herm. Lang, Geo. Trott, Fried. Geyer, Dan. Hentz, Com. Finames, Leop. Strauss, Geo. Krumsick, H. Eisentrant, P. Bauer, F. Blasy. Germania, Mrs. Jacob Henrich; Muses, Misses Eidt, A. Zaeder and L. Kochler.

EIGHTH DIVISION.

The Eighth Division comprised gentlemen's driving teams; Lieut. David F. Parker, marshal; Capt. M. V. B. Richardson,

Charles W. Moody, Gen. Percy Daniels, assistant marshals. Swedish Brass Band, in a carriage, 15 pieces, C. Ekbled, leader.

EMBLEM,—SCANDINAVIA.

The Scandinavian Car represented Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The platform—fourteen feet long by eight feet wide, and five and a half feet from the ground—was covered with the Scandinavian colors and trimmed with evergreens. Upon a seat, in the centre, was enthroned the Goddess of Liberty (Miss Selma P. Aalstrom), dressed in pure white, with trimmings of the national colors, a helmet adorning her head, and holding in her hand a banner, ten feet by eight, having on one side the Scandinavian coat of arms, and on the other a Northman's ship of the tenth century, sailing for our shores, with the words, "America discovered A. D., 1000." In front of the goddess were representatives of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, in their respective costumes of one hundred years ago, each holding in his hand the flag of that date; Norway being represented by Olaus Hanson, a Norwegian; Sweden by Swen Hammer, a Swede; and Denmark by C. G. Blomstrom, a Dane.

Behind the goddess, were three distinguished representatives of the present age: John Ericsson, the inventor of the caloric engine and the world-renowned "Monitor," personated by Alfred Johnson; Albert Thorwaldsen, the noted sculptor, represented at work on an outline model just moulded by him, personated by Edward Hammerstrom; and Ole Bull, the celebrated musician, personated by Nils Peterson.

In the rear of the platform was a Union soldier of Norway and Sweden, represented by Edward Ericson, dressed in the national uniform, and on each side of him a union flag of the two countries. Over all was a rich canopy, fourteen feet from the ground, covered with the Scandinavian colors; and six feet above this was an American flag, six feet by eight.

On each side of the car, printed in large letters, was the word "Scandinavia." The car was drawn by four horses, led by M. Hanson, C. Sandbo, O. Olson and A. Hanson, dressed in the costumes of Norway and Sweden.

DECORATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS.

The decorations of buildings and grounds throughout the city were of a most elaborate nature, far exceeding anything of the kind ever before attempted here.

The work of decorating the Common and the buildings and monuments thereon was done by the city, and the work was much admired. At the west gable-end of City Hall was a shield, resting upon a glory of national flags. Suspended from this were streamers running to the sides of the building below, finishing with the coat of arms of Massachusetts on one side, and the seal of the United States on the other. Covering the middle window in the second story of the west end was an admirable life-size painting of Washington, with a glory of American flags as a background. The main entrance below was draped with national flags. On the northerly and southerly sides of the building were heavy festoons of red, white and blue, a shield, bearing the name of one of the States, being suspended at the gatherings of the festoons. On the easterly end of the building streamers and national flags were hung in profusion.

On the westerly side of the Old South Church was an arch, standing where the old porch through which the church was entered, was located. This was twenty-one feet high, ten feet deep and fourteen feet wide, and the frame-work was entirely covered with red, white and blue. In the centre of the arch was a handsome shield of the United States, with a glory of national flags as a background, while on the sides of the arch were thirteen shields representing the thirteen original colonies. Below the national shield, on a background of white, in varied colored letters, the public were informed that "Here stood the porch where the Declaration of Independence was first read in Massachusetts." South of this porch was a painting, ten feet long

and seven feet wide, representing Columbia. This painting was surrounded by national flags, hung in graceful festoons. In the space between the porch and the painting of Columbia was a handsome flag of France, draped with pennants of red, white and blue. At the north end of the church, covering the circular window in the gable, the English and American flags were draped together, from which streamers were suspended. Two lines of streamers of signals and pennants were suspended between the belfry and the City Hall, one running to the westerly end, and terminating with the flag of Tuscany, and the other to the easterly end, and terminating with a Brazilian flag. At the south end, in the centre, was a large pennant of red, white and blue, from which streamers of flags ran to either side of the building.

The base of the Soldiers' Monument was wound with festoons of red, white and blue, and the disc was covered with streamers intertwined with festoons of evergreen running through wreaths of the same material. Double festoons of evergreen were also intertwined with the red, white and blue at the base.

On the top of the Bigelow Monument was an evergreen wreath, from which streamers ran to either corner of the base, and back through the wreath at the top. Each of the four recesses was covered with American flags, handsomely draped with wreaths of evergreen hung at intervals. The base was also handsomely covered with heavy festoons of red, white and blue, upon which rested festoons of evergreen.

At Lincoln Square, the grand decoration consisted of a triple arch 126 feet long and 52 feet high in the centre, extending from the corner of Salisbury's block at the junction of the new lines of Union street to a large elm tree in front of the Salisbury mansion. Four wooden columns supported the decorating material, which consisted mainly of tricolored bunting. At the top of the columns floated American flags. In the centre was hung a semi-circle, bearing on the west side the inscription, "North Square,—ancient centre of Revolutionary spirit." On the east side the inscription was, "Our country—all of it." The top of the circles was surmounted with a spread eagle, a silver star, and cluster of small flags, while underneath were large

American shields. In the centre of the north arch was a large American shield, with "1776" on the face and "1876" on the rear. Over this was a silver star. The south arch was similarly arranged, with the dates on the shields reversed. The columns were covered with bunting, and on the west face of the two centre ones were medallions of Washington and Lincoln. The effect of the display was very fine, and attracted general admiration.

The American Antiquarian Society building was tastefully decorated with national colors. Over the entrance was placed a spread eagle, perched on a globe. Streamers ran from the roof to the centre and lower story. On either side of the upper story windows were large American shields. On the top of the building floated a regulation American flag, inscribed, "The past at least is secure—the future is full of promise." Small flags of other nationalities floated from the roof, and a mammoth flag was hung across the head of Salisbury street.

The Exchange Hotel, corner of Market street, where General Washington took breakfast when he passed through the town on his way to take command of the army, was decorated with bunting and flags. A placard over the room north of the office announced that the room was once occupied by the "Father of his country."

On the ancient house known as the "Dix House" on Main Street at the foot of "Court House Hill," now occupied by Samuel Davis, Esq., was this inscription: "This was the residence of General Warren's family during the siege of Boston." A house on the west side of Lincoln Street, a few rods north of Lincoln Square, bore the inscription: "Near this spot once stood the Hancock Arms Tavern."

The Lincoln House block was conspicuously adorned with colored fabrics, gracefully arranged, and bore two placards: One reading, "This spot marks the location of the King's Arms Tavern. The towns-people compelled the keeper to take down the sign, when it was burned in the street;" and the other, "Lafayette was the guest of General Lincoln at a house which formerly stood on this spot. Sept. 22d, 1824."

As the dusk of evening approached, lanterns and colored fires

made the night more brilliant and splendid than the day had been, and the throng in the streets was scarcely less.

The centre of attraction was the Common, where the illumination was done under the direction of the city. In the City Hall, behind each square of glass, a French lantern was hung, and the effect was such that the old building was really something of which the citizens might well be proud. In the belfry of the Old South Church were a number of red lanterns, a simple yet pleasing display. Lines of lanterns, of the bucket and globe patterns, were hung in festoons between the trees on the Front, Main, Park and Salem street sides, and in nearly all the trees lanterns were hung in profusion. Near the main path was a handsome chandelier of lanterns, and lines of the same were stretched from the top of the flagstaff to the four corners. A Magnesium light illuminated the Soldiers' Monument, and the effect throughout was very fine.

Throughout the city, almost every dwelling, shop and office was illuminated more or less profusely. Many of the devices were very ingenious and tasteful, and the number of paper lanterns was astonishingly great. Altogether, nothing of the kind could well be more satisfactory than this celebration of the Centennial Fourth. The enthusiasm of the people was genuine and hearty, and the celebration was notable for the excellent management of the public authorities, the general co-operation of all classes of citizens, and the total absence of any serious accident or failure.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

It has been deemed appropriate to give a few facts which indicate, in some degree, the condition of affairs in the town of Worcester a century ago, especially as to the stand taken upon the important political questions then agitating the country. This now prosperous city, with its fifty thousand inhabitants, was then a village, with less than two thousand, and probably had not over two hundred and fifty voters, yet it was prominent and active in political affairs.

Although many of the most respected citizens, and most of the officials, were loyal to the British government, the majority were strongly opposed to the arbitrary measures of parliament, which were likely to affect, as they believed, the independence and well being of the people.

As early as December, 1773, the leading whigs of Worcester had formed a society for discussion and consultation upon civil and religious affairs, called the "American Political Society," which was an exponent of the political rights of the people. It also took an active part in town affairs, and often discussed questions that were afterwards acted upon in town meeting, on whose deliberations and doings it had a marked influence. The real purpose of the Society was undoubtedly to control the actions of the royalist party, then consisting of the wealthy and influential men of the town. *

Early in 1774 the Society took strong ground against the action of the home government in placing a duty on tea and other goods imported from Great Britain to the Colonies. A vote or

* This Society was probably to a certain extent a secret one, for it is stated that in the only instance on record of a member being dismissed, he was requested to sign a solemn compact or declaration, that he would "faithfully and inviolably keep all the articles of the Society secret as truly as if he still belonged." Owing to internal troubles and disagreements, the Society was dissolved in June, 1776.

resolution was passed in which the members agreed not to buy any English goods, and especially not to buy or use any tea, imported from England or elsewhere, until the act imposing a duty thereon was repealed. Other resolutions of a similar nature were adopted from time to time, which gave great offence to the loyalists, of whom there were a considerable number, and also encouraged the whigs to greater zeal in their resistance to the aggressions of the crown.

In May, 1744, resolutions were adopted by the town, in the form of instructions to Joshua Bigelow, the newly-elected representative to the General Court. He was instructed to be decided in opposition to the objectionable acts of Parliament, and to oppose the approval of all claims for indemnity for the tea thrown overboard in the harbor of Boston. He was especially urged to make it one of his first objects to work for and require a strict union of the Colonies, and to pursue every legal measure that might tend thereto, viz :—

"That committees of correspondence be kept up between the several houses of assembly through the colonies; and that you by no means fail to use your utmost endeavors, that there be a general Congress formed of deputies from the same; that so we may unite in some safe and sure plan, to secure and defend the American liberties, at this important crisis of affairs."*

Other equally decided instructions had before been adopted by the town, which the loyalists strongly opposed ; but not succeeding in their opposition, they petitioned for a special meeting, in the hope that they might be able to secure a reconsideration of the resolutions. After a long and excited discussion upon the question, they were defeated in their efforts. They then resorted to what seemed the only course left, and presented a protest against the resolutions, which was most loyal in its tone, and was signed by fifty-two inhabitants.

The acceptance of the protest was refused by the town, but Clark Chandler, the town clerk, himself among the signers of the protest, as were several of his relatives and friends, copied the protest on the records, and also sent a copy to Boston for publication.

History of Worcester.—By William Lincoln, p. 79.

The protest, prefaced with a note to the printer, was published in the "Massachusetts Gazette and the Boston Weekly News-Letter," of June 30th, 1774, as follows :—*

"Messrs. Printers,

If you please you may give the following Protestation &c of us few friends of truth, peace and order, a place in your paper: For it is believed that we and many others thro' the Province have too long already held our peace.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Worcester held there on the 20th day of June, A. D. 1774, pursuant to an application made to the selectmen by 43 voters and freeholders of the same town, dated the 20th day of May last, therein, among other things, declaring their just apprehensions of the fatal consequences that may follow the many riotous and seditious actions that have of late times been done and perpetrated in divers places within this province; the votes and proceedings of which meeting are by us deemed irregular and arbitrary:

Wherefore, we, some of us who were petitioners for the said meeting, and others, inhabitants of the town, hereunto subscribing, thinking it our indispensable duty, in these times of discord and confusion in too many of the towns within this province, to bear testimony in the most open and unreserved manner against all riotous, disorderly and seditious practices, must therefore now declare, that it is with the deepest concern for public peace and order that we behold so many, whom we used to esteem sober, peaceable men, so far deceived, deluded and led astray by the artful, crafty and insidious practices of some evil-minded and ill-disposed persons, who, under the disguise of patriotism, and falsely styling themselves the friends of liberty, some of them neglecting their own proper business and occupation, in which they ought to be employed for the support of their families, spending their time in discoursing of matters they do not understand, raising and propagating falsehoods and calumnies of those men they look up to with envy, and on whose fall and ruin they wish to rise, intend to reduce all things to a state of tumult, discord and confusion.

And in pursuance of those evil purposes and practices, they have imposed on the understanding of some, corrupted the principles of others, and distracted the minds of many, who, under the influence of this delusion, have been tempted to act a part that may prove, and that has already proved, extremely prejudicial to the province, and as it may be, fatal to themselves; bringing into real danger, and in many instances destroying, that liberty and property we all hold sacred, and which they vainly and impiously boast of defending at the expense of their blood and treasure.

And, as it appears to us, that many of this town seem to be led aside by strange opinions, and are prevented coming to such prudent votes and resolutions as might be for the general good and the advantage of this town in particular, agreeably to the request of the petitioners for this meeting.

And as the town has refused to dismiss the persons styling themselves the

*It was also printed in the Massachusetts Gazette and the Boston Post Boy and Advertiser for July 4th, 1774.

committee of correspondence for the town, and has also refused so much as to call on them to render an account of their past dark and pernicious proceedings:

We, therefore, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do each of us declare and protest, it is our firm opinion, that the committees of correspondence in the several towns of this province, being creatures of modern invention, and constituted as they be, are a legal grievance, having no legal foundation, contrived by a junto to serve particular designs and purposes of their own, and that they, as they have been and are now managed in this town, are a nuisance: And we fear, it is in a great measure owing to the baneful influence of such committees, that the teas of immense value, lately belonging to the East India Company, were, not long since, scandalously destroyed in Boston, and that many other enormous acts of violence and oppression have been perpetrated, whereby the lives of many honest, worthy persons, have been endangered, and their property destroyed.

It is by these committees also, that papers have been lately published and are now circulating through the province, inviting, and wickedly tempting, all persons to join them, fully implying, if not expressly denouncing the destruction of all that refuse to subscribe those unlawful combinations, tending directly to sedition, civil war, and rebellion.

These, and all such enormities, we detest and abhor; and the authors of them we esteem enemies to our king and country, violators of all law and civil liberty, the malevolent disturbers of the peace of society, subverters of the established constitution, and enemies of mankind."

This is certified to be a true copy from the Town Records of Worcester, by Clark Chandler, Town Clerk.

As soon as the whigs discovered that this protest had been entered upon the town records, they were, as a matter of course, very excited and justly indignant with the clerk, for having, as they claimed, exceeded his powers, and insulted the town by his procedure. A petition was at once presented to the selectmen, asking them to call a special meeting to take action upon the unwarrantable proceeding of the clerk.

At a meeting held the 24th of August, 1774, resolutions, prepared by a committee previously appointed, were adopted, denouncing the protest of the tories in the strongest terms; and as it appeared "that the same is recorded in the town book, notwithstanding the many aspersions against the people of this town, and without the liberty or knowledge of the town;" Therefore, it was

"Voted, that the town clerk do, in the presence of the town, obliterate, erase, or otherwise deface the said recorded protest, and the names thereto subscribed, so that it may become utterly illegible and unintelligible."*

* History of Worcester.—By William Lincoln, p. 83.

The clerk thereupon, in open town meeting, with his pen defaced the pages on which the obnoxious record was made; but this not proving satisfactory to the patriotic voters then assembled, he dipped his fingers into the ink and, drawing them across the records, so effectually accomplished the object that the words have indeed become utterly illegible, as may be seen by an inspection of the volume in the hands of the city clerk.*

The following vote, reprimanding and admonishing the town clerk, was also passed :—

"Mr. Clark Chandler: Whereas, this town, at their annual meeting in March last, as well as for several years before, honored you by choosing you for their clerk, relying on your fidelity, that you would act for the honor of the town, and find themselves much disappointed by your conduct in recording on the town book the scandalous protest of William Elder and others, filled with falsehood and reflections against the town, we have just reason to fear you was actuated in the matter by unjustifiable motives, and, at this time, exhort you to be more circumspect in the execution of [the duties of] your office, and never give this town the like trouble, of calling a town meeting again on such an occasion. The town wish to see your behavior such as may restore you to their former good opinion of you."

The people of the town continued to be excited upon public affairs, and set about preparing for a struggle which, it was felt, might soon be forced upon them; and they foresaw that, so arbitrary and intolerant had become the requirements of the home government, the result might be a separation from Great Britain. In October, 1774, another series of instructions were passed by the town, to be observed by Capt. Timothy Bigelow, their delegate to the Provincial Congress, soon to be convened at Concord, which had the true ring of independence, and breathed a spirit of the strongest opposition to any action which should compromise their rights.

By these instructions he was requested, among other things, to obtain redress for grievances of various kinds, to procure the restoration of free trade, the removal of the king's troops, and to favor the appointment of a "Captain-General" to command the militia. They also say :—

"As the first charter given to this Colony was violated, and as we think wrongfully wrested from us by Great-Britain, and our second and late

*A reduced fac-simile of this page of the town records, reproduced by the heliotype process, is given as being a unique specimen of patriotic indignation.

charter is nullified and destroyed by late Acts of the British Parliament, *to wit:* by their assuming the authority of making laws binding upon us in all cases whatever; and to enforce our compliance having sent ships of war, and blocked the port and harbor of our metropolis, and troops in hostile array to dragoon the people, and the Governor independent of the people for his support, &c., &c. * * * That if all infractions on our rights by Acts of the British Parliament be not redressed, and we restored to the full enjoyment of all our privileges contained in the charter of this Province, granted by their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, to a punctilio, before the day of your meeting,—that then and in that case you are to consider the people of this Province as absolved on their part from the obligation therein contained, and to all intents and purposes reduced to a state of nature; and you are to exert yourself in devising ways and means to raise from the dissolution of the old constitution, as from the ashes of the Phœnix, a new form, wherein all officers shall be dependent on the suffrages of the people for their existence, as such, whatever unfavorable constructions our enemies may put upon such a procedure. The exigency of our public affairs leaves us no other alternative from a state of anarchy or slavery."

More than fifty years ago, an honored citizen of Worcester,* in an address at the dedication of the Town Hall, thus alludes to this bold action of its citizens before the Declaration of Independence was adopted :—

"We have heard much just praise bestowed upon the bold and overpowering eloquence of James Otis and Patrick Henry ; but vehement and daring as they were, they could not have uttered their sentiments in a more decisive tone than do the humble records of Worcester those of its citizens. They could not have repelled aggression in a more resolute manner, nor more warily shunned the snares that were set for an unsuspecting people. The inhabitants could not be brought in any manner, direct or indirect, to acquiesce in the usurpations of the crown. They would not permit their representative to be sworn by an officer not appointed according to the provisions of the Provincial Charter, nor to sit where the deliberations of the Legislature would be overawed by an armed force. Their resolution was to yield no right, to submit to no infraction; and if they could not enjoy the privileges secured by the charter, to establish an independent government, and commit the issue to a just God, if an appeal to arms should ensue."

It was in May, 1776, that a town meeting was held, at which it was voted that "if the Continental Congress should declare the American Colonies independent of Great Britain, we will support the measure with our lives and fortunes." These proceedings show the feeling of the town at that period, and are proof that they foresaw that the issue would probably be the separation from the parent country.

* Hon. John Davis, May 2d, 1825.

While the people of Worcester were so earnest in their demands for liberty of conscience, as well as of the body, they were not unmindful of the desires of others to have secured to them the same blessings. The following advertisement, from the "Massachusetts Spy" of June 21st, 1775, indicates the feeling of the community at that early date in regard to negro slavery :—

"Whereas, the negroes in the counties of Bristol and Worcester, the 24th of March last, petitioned the Committee of Correspondence for the County of Worcester, (then convened in Worcester,) to assist them in obtaining their freedom. Therefore,—

In County Convention, June 14, 1775.

RESOLVED, That we abhor the enslaving of any of the human race, and particularly the NEGROES in this country. And that whenever there shall be a door opened, or opportunity present, for anything to be done toward the emancipating the NEGROES, we will use our influence and endeavor that such a thing may be effected.

Attest, WILLIAM HENSHAW, Clerk."

The time soon came, however, when something more than words was necessary, and the patriotic citizens of the town were prepared and ready to respond even to the giving of their lives to uphold the principles they had so boldly advocated.

When the news of the attack on Lexington and the fight at Concord was received in Worcester, on the 19th of April, 1775, the bells were rung and cannon fired to call out the militia or minute men. A company, under Capt. Timothy Bigelow, was soon under arms upon the Common, and after a prayer by Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty, started on its march to the scene of conflict. Other troops soon followed, and before the next morning over one hundred men were on their way towards Boston. An appropriate monument to the memory of the brave officer who, on that April day, led his company to the defence of their fellow-citizens, has been erected by one of his descendants, on the Common from which he marched a century ago.*

But it is not the purpose of these notes to give a detailed account of this interesting epoch in the history of the town. This has already been well done by William Lincoln, the historian of Worcester; and during the present year another citizen, Mr.

*The monument erected to the memory of Col. Bigelow, was completed in the Spring of 1861, and was dedicated on the 19th of April of that year, the anniversary of the departure of the minute men in 1775 for the seat of war near Boston. Only two days before the dedication, the Worcester Light Infantry, who were expected to have joined in the exercises of the day, had started with the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Militia, for the defence of Washington, and at the very time the ceremonies of dedication were going on, they were bravely fighting their way through the streets of Baltimore.

Albert A. Lovell, interested in preserving memorials of the past, has published a "History of Worcester in the War of the Revolution."

It was a short time before the affair at Lexington that Mr. Isaiah Thomas, then publishing a newspaper in Boston, sent a press and types to Worcester, anticipating that the conflict between the people and the British troops would soon render it impossible to remain in Boston. He was assisted in the removal of the press and types by the patriotic Timothy Bigelow. Selecting a dark night for the purpose, they took them across the river to Charlestown, from whence they were removed to Worcester, and set up in the basement of Col. Bigelow's house. Mr. Thomas himself arrived in Worcester soon after the attack on Lexington, having escaped from Boston, leaving most of his property behind him. He commenced the publication of the "Spy" under the name of the "Massachusetts Spy or American Oracle of Liberty," with the words, "*Americans!—Liberty or Death!—Join or Die!*" printed over the title.

The first number was printed May 3d, 1775, and has additional interest from being the first thing printed in Worcester. This paper also contained the first regular account of the battle of Lexington.

In a letter to a member of the General Court, written October 2d, 1775, Mr. Thomas makes some interesting statements in regard to his escape from Boston, and to the difficulties encountered in starting the "Spy" in Worcester. As a matter of historical interest the contents of this letter are here given, copied from the original, in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society:—

"Worcester, October 2, 1775.

Sir:—I have the honor of receiving two letters from you which you sent by Order of the Hon. House, desiring me to send no more papers to them on account of the Colony. In your last, Sir, you mention "that it is thought highly improper to continue the papers if they were to be paid for; but that it was possible you had been misinformed and that the Printers intended those papers as a present, as you till of late supposed." I will agreeable to your request, inform you of the true state of the matter and humbly submit it to consideration.

A few days before the late memorable Battle of Lexington, I applied at

Concord, to a member of the Hon. Delagates, then sitting in Congress, among whom was the Hon President, to ask their opinion, if it was not proper, as public matters then were, for me to remove my Printing Office out of Boston, as I found the Liberty of the Press, in that devoted Capital, daily declining and myself growing more and more obnoxious to the Enemies of our once happy Constitution, and more particularly so to our then *Military Masters* (some of whom had carried their Resentment so far, as *Twice* to endeavor to assassinate me, for no other reason, as I humbly conceive, than doing the little in my power, in the way of my Profession, towards supporting the Rights and Privileges of my countrymen.) The Hon. Gentlemen informed me that they thought it was *highly requisite* I should *immediately* remove myself and printing materials out of Boston, as in a few days it might be too late. I accordingly went and, as soon as could be, packed up my Press and types, and in the dead of night, *stole* them out of town. Two nights after this the Troops went to Lexington, and the next evening Boston was entirely shut up:—I escaped myself the day of the battle and left everything my tools excepted behind me. Some of the delagates of the Hon. Congress, in a day or two after desired me to get my Press ready for Printing as they had several things to be done. I informed them of my *unfortunate circumstances at that time*—fleeing from Boston, without any money to purchase stock; (I had just labored through another year with my paper, and it being the custom for subscribers to pay yearly, all that I should *at that time have possessed*, was then, *and is now*, in the hands of my numerous subscribers now scattered throughout the Continent, to the amount of above Three Thousand Dollars.) The Hon. Committee of Supplies were so kind as to order me paper for a present supply, as something was due to me from the Province, and I was requested immediately to continue the publication of the Massachusetts Spy.

In a few days after this, I was ordered with my tools to Concord, thither I directly went myself, but before my tools could possibly arrive, the Congress had adjourned to Watertown, and it was told me by several of that honorable body, that it was best for me to continue for the present at Worcester. As none of the Boston printers then published a paper, or were like to do it, myself excepted, I was desired by many gentlemen, both in the Congress, the different committees, and the army, to forward mine to them; and several who I imagined knew my circumstances, told me I should send a number to the Congress and to the head Quarters:—I immediately Established a Post to the army to bring me intelligence, and carry my Papers to the Hon. Congress and the army. As matters were then in much disorder, together with my residing at such a distance, added to the desire I ever have had of doing my Country *all the service in my power*, I did what my superiors bade, without ever inquiring—*Who was to reward me?*—And as it was thought I could serve my country best in the capacity of a Printer, I went on publishing my paper, although *at that time*, I had not 200 subscribers exclusive of what I sent to the Hon. Congress, the Committees and Army. I never meant to make any *great* profit by the papers I have sent, and have only charged *one Penny* for each paper, which is *hardly* what it cost me for the Stock and Labor, exclusive of any *emolument*. If the Hon. House, after this detail (for the length of

which I humbly crave your forgiveness, as I thought it best to be particular) should think I was *too forward* and do *not merit any pay*, either for the papers, or any part of the Postage, I shall content myself with their determination.

Your candor Sir will excuse the inaccuracies of this Letter, wrote in haste, as I have just now an opportunity of transmitting it to you.

I have the honor to be
your obliged,
humble servant,
Isa. Thomas.

P. S.

I have sent weekly, since my publishing in this place 100 papers to the Hon. Congress while they sat, and afterwards the same number to the Hon House—80 to the Head Quarters in Cambridge—60 to Headquarters in Roxbury—16 to the Hon Council, 16 to the Committee of Supplies, and 16 to the Committee of Safety. In the whole 288 papers, weekly for which I have only charged 6s per week postage.

288 papers for twenty weeks at 1d each and 6d per week postage £31.—10

I. T."

The "Spy" took strong ground for the doctrines soon after adopted and promulgated by Congress in the Declaration of Independence, and Mr. Thomas had been so earnest in his demands for equal rights for all, while editing the paper in Boston, that, in a letter written to him by John Hancock, April 4, 1775, he was addressed as the "Supporter of the Rights and Liberties of Mankind."

From October, 1775, to July, 1776, the "Spy" was published on Fridays, after that, on Wednesdays. Early in 1776 Mr. Thomas, desiring to establish a press in another part of the State, leased his newspaper to William Stearns and Daniel Bigelow, young lawyers of Worcester, and their names first appear as publishers in the issue for June 21, 1776.

Mr. Thomas, however, still kept his interest in the town, and was present in July, 1776, to take a prominent part in an event which citizens of Worcester look back to with pride and satisfaction.

As is well known, the Declaration of Independence was passed in the evening of July 4th, 1776, by Congress, and signed on that day by the President, John Hancock, and the Secretary, Charles Thompson, but it may not be equally well known, that it was not signed, in its completed form, by the members, till the

second day of August following. Immediately after its passage, it was

"Resolved, that copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and Committees or Councils of Safety, and to the several commanding officers of the Continental troops; and that it be proclaimed in each of the United States and at the Head of the Army."

As soon, therefore, as copies could be printed, it was sent by couriers to the different States. Having been first publicly read at Philadelphia the 8th of July, it was received in New York, at Washington's head-quarters, on the 9th, and in the evening it was read at the head-quarters of each brigade.

By some means, however, rumors of the passage of the act had reached Worcester in advance of the messenger with the attested copy, for in the "Massachusetts Spy" of July 10th, we find the following announcement:

"It is reported that the Honorable Continental Congress have declared the American Colonies *independent* of the Monster of imperious domination and cruelty—Great Britain! Which we hope is true."

The confirmation of this rumor was received in Worcester on Saturday the 13th, or Sunday the 14th of July, and was read publicly for the first time in New England by Isaiah Thomas, from the roof of the west porch of the Old South Meeting-House, and also on Sunday, after service, in the house itself. It is supposed that the messenger of Congress was intercepted on his way through the town, by Mr. Thomas, and a copy of the important document secured. It was printed in the "Spy" of July 17, for the first time in any newspaper in New England.* The Declaration was read in Boston on the 18th of July, from the balcony of the State House, by Col. Thomas Crafts, to an immense concourse, including not only the loyal people but many of the British officers and men who were held as prisoners in Boston. It is said the British officers were especially requested

* A fac-simile of this number of the "Spy," from the original, in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, published by the Campbell Printing Press Co., of New York, for distribution at the International Exhibition, Philadelphia, is given as one of the illustrations of this publication.

to be present in full uniform on the occasion. It was received with great demonstrations of joy from the patriotic inhabitants, by the ringing of bells, firing of cannon, and the cheers of the people. The "Spy," in its account of the affair, says that on the same evening—

"Every sign of the King's Arms, or any resemblance of it, whether Lion or Crown, Pestle, Mortar and Crown, Hare and Crown, together with every sign that belonged to a tory, were taken down, and the latter made a general conflagration in King street."

The time which elapsed between the reception of the Declaration in Worcester and its publication in the Boston newspapers may be accounted for by the fact, that the messenger leaving the former place on Sunday the 14th of July, would not reach Boston in time to have it printed in the "Boston Gazette and Country Journal" of Monday; consequently, there being no other paper published till Thursday the 18th, the Declaration did not appear in print till the issues of the "Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser" and the "New England Chronicle," both published on that day, and was not printed in the Gazette till the 22d.

Without doubt the official copy was at once forwarded to the Council, then in session at Watertown, who gave orders for a proper celebration of the passage of such an important act, and for its promulgation in Boston. The preparations for the celebration, which, as may be seen by the account in the Boston papers, was somewhat imposing, undoubtedly caused delay, so that it was four days after its reading in Worcester when the Declaration was publicly read in Boston.

On Monday of the next week, after the reading of the Declaration (the 22d), the first public celebration of its adoption took place in Worcester, and is thus reported in the "Spy" of the 24th:—

"On Monday last, a number of patriotic gentlemen of this town, animated with a love of their country, and to show their approbation of the measures lately taken by the Grand Council of America, assembled on the Green, near the liberty pole, where, after having displayed the colors of the thirteen confederate colonies of America, the bells were set ringing and the drums a

beating : After which, the Declaration of Independence of the United States was read to a large and respectable body, among whom were the selectmen and committee of correspondence, assembled on the occasion, who testified their approbation by repeated huzzas, firing of musketry and cannon, bonfires and other demonstrations of joy; When the arms of that tyrant in Britain, George the III., of execrable memory, which in former times decorated, but of late disgraced the court house in this town, were committed to the flames and consumed to ashes; after which, a select company of the sons of freedom, repaired to the tavern, lately known by the sign of the King's Arms, which odious signature of despotism was taken down by order of the people, which was cheerfully complied with by the innkeeper, where the following toasts were drank; and the evening spent with joy, on the commencement of the happy era."

Among the toasts offered on this occasion were the following :—

"Prosperity and perpetuity to the United States of America. The President of the Grand Council of America. The Grand Council of America. His excellency General Washington. The Patriots of America. Every Friend of America. George rejected and liberty protected. Sore eyes to all tories, and a chestnut burr for an eye stone. Perpetual itching without the benefit of scratching, to the enemies of America. Speedy redemption to all the officers and soldiers who are now prisoners of war among our enemies. The Selectmen and Committees of Correspondence for the Town of Worcester. May the enemies of America be laid at her feet. May the freedom and independency of America endure, till the sun grows dim with age, and this earth returns to chaos."

In conclusion, the report says :—

"The greatest decency and good order was observed, and at a suitable time each man returned to his respective home."

The town records for 1776 show that a special town meeting was called for the 30th of September, to act upon the question of adopting a State Constitution. The fourth article of the warrant calling the meeting reads as follows :—

"Agreeable to a Resolve of the General assembly of September the seventeenth, Recommending to all the male inhabitants of Each Town in this State, being free and of Twenty one years of age and upwards, to consider of, vote and Determine, whether they will give their consent that the present House of Representatives of this state with the Council, if they consent, in one body with the House, and by equal voice, should consent, agree on and

enact such a Constitution and form of Government for this State as the said House of Representatives & Council as aforesaid, on the fullest and most mature Deliberation shall judge will most Conduce to the safety, peace and happiness of this State in all after successions and generations. Or do or act any other matter or thing Respecting the premises, agreeable to said resolve, which they may think proper."

From the records of the meeting held that day it appears no immediate action was taken in the matter, it having been voted:—

"That Considering the importance of forming a new Government for this state, agreeable to a Resolve of the General assembly of the 17th of September Instant, and the propriety of all the freemen in the state having a fair opportunity to give their voice in the matter, and the great number of the freemen of this town from being absent for the defence of this and the other American States, this article be referred to the adjournment of this meeting." "Meeting adj^{d} to 3 Monday in Dec."

The Declaration of Independence is recorded on the town book immediately after the record of the above meeting.*

If the objects of this publication would admit, it would be interesting to continue these notes, so as to embrace the more exciting times of the Revolution, in which the town of Worcester took an active part and responded with promptness, as it has in later days, to the country's call for men to fight in its defence.

Notices of some of the ancient buildings and historical localities and a brief chronology of the most important events in the history of the town, from its settlement to the War of the Revolution, are given, which, it is believed, will be a source of information to those of our citizens who have not the time to consult extended and elaborate histories.

* Town Records, Vol. 4, page 72.

LIBRARY.

ANCIENT BUILDINGS AND HISTORICAL LOCALITIES

IN WORCESTER.

The Old South Meeting-House.

The oldest and most interesting of the public buildings now standing in Worcester is the Old South Meeting-House, on the Common. This ancient edifice stands upon nearly the same spot as that occupied by the second building erected for public worship in 1719.

The necessity for a new meeting-house was brought to the notice of the town by the following article in the warrant for a town meeting, called March 2, 1761, viz:—

"To see if the town will build a suitable House for y^e^ Publick Worship of God and give such Directions relative thereto as they may Judge Proper."

Nothing was done at this time, however, in the matter, and although the question was brought up at several subsequent meetings, it was not till March 8, 1762, that definite action was taken. Then the town voted:—

"That there be a new meeting House Built for the Public worship of God, that the same be erected as nigh the present House as y^e^ Ground will admit off, and that James Putnam, Josiah Brewer and Timothy Paine, Esqrs & Messrs Elisha Smith Jr Joshua Bigelow, Capt. Daniel Ward and John Chandler Jr Esq be a committee to calculate the cost of a House seventy feet long fifty five feet wide and Twenty eight feet posts,—and what the Difference will be between Building s^d^ House with Brick or wood and lay the same before the Town to give further Direction toward Building said House."

The result of this action on the part of the town was the commencement of the building June 21st, 1763, the location having been fixed at the meeting of May 18th, when the following votes were passed :—

"Upon the fifth Article of the Warrant relative to the alteration of the Place for the New Meeting-House the Question being put if the Town would give order for setting s^d^ House on y^e^ Gravelly Knole between Mr. Putmans and the Burying Place & it Passed in the negative.—Therefore,

"Voted—that the Committee for Building the New Meeting-House, as soon as may be pull down the Old Meeting House and save what stuff they can, and that the New Meeting House be sett on y^e^ spot where the old one stands, as may be convenient, and that the new House Front y^e^ Country Road. Former votes of the Town in March, 1762, Notwithstanding."

"Voted, That the s^d^ Comittee Hire a suitable Number of men to Raise the New meeting House in the cheapest manner they can, and that there be no Public Entertainment."

The first assembling of the congregation in the new house (although it was not entirely completed) was on Thanksgiving Day, December 8th, 1763, on which occasion Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty, the minister of the town, delivered a thanksgiving and historical sermon.

That the house was not fully completed at the time of the sermon by Mr. Maccarty, is shown by the town records, from which it appears that at a meeting held the 12th day of December, 1763, in the "new meeting-house" it was voted :—

"That it be an Instruction to y^e^ Committee for Building y^e^ new Meeting-House that they build a Porch at y^e^ Front Door so as to accommodate going into y^e^ Front Gallery."

Also at an adjourned meeting held the 14th of the same month it was voted that :—

"Whereas y^e^ Town at this Meeting gave Instructions to y^e^ Committee for Building a Porch at y^e^ Front Door so as to accommodate going into y^e^ Front Gallery y^e^ Town taking y^e^ same into further consideration, voted that y^e^ s^d^ Committee only build a low Porch at s^d^ Door."

This edifice was erected by the town in its municipal capacity, and was owned by the town till the second parish (Rev. Dr. Bancroft's) was incorporated in 1787, when it became the property of the first parish.

In this house the inhabitants met, not only for religious services, but to transact all the town business, it being for many years the only building where the citizens could assemble for that purpose. Here the people gathered in July, 1776, to hear Isaiah Thomas read the Declaration of Independence; and, undoubtedly, within its walls many debates took place upon the affairs of the country and the rights and liberties of the inhabitants. The parsonage, occupied by Rev. Mr. Maccarty, was on the south side of the Common, near the corner of Park and Portland streets.

The following description of the building is taken from Mr. Lovell's "History of Worcester in the War of the Revolution":—

"The original dimensions were 70 feet in length by 55 in width, with a tower on the north, surmounted by a spire 130 feet high. * * * The principal entrance was through a porch on the west side, and there was also an entrance through a porch at the south end, and another through the tower on the north. The porch at the main entrance had wide double doors in front and single doors at the sides. The entrance through the tower was also by doors on the three sides. The floor of the meeting house was provided with sixty-one large square box pews and seven long pews on each side of the broad aisle,—these last being free. Those at the right on entering were assigned to the men, and those on the left to the women. In front of the pulpit was the pew for the deacons, and the pew for the aged and deaf. Over the pulpit was the high sounding board with its pendant dove. On three sides was a very deep gallery, the pulpit being raised high enough to be in full view of every seat."*

In accordance with the rules of the Cambridge Platform accommodations were provided for the Elders, the pew directly in front of the pulpit being called the Elders', although such officials were not recognized by the rules of the parish. This pew was occupied on the Sabbath by the aged and deaf, and by the Selectmen at town meetings when receiving the votes.

Slight changes were made from time to time in the interior arrangements of the building. In 1783, "four of the back free seats were taken out and new square pews put in their place."

* We are indebted to Mr. Albert A. Lovell for the use of the heliotype of the Old South Church as it appeared in 1776.

In 1828, the most radical change was made, the old square pews being all removed, and the present long pews substituted. The ancient pulpit (which was on the east side of the room) and the sounding board with a dove and olive branch suspended from the centre were likewise removed. The porch on the west side was taken down and the wings added on each side of the tower. In 1834 another change was made, by removing the south porch and extending the building in that direction twenty-five feet; the present long windows were substituted for the small ones in 1871.

The Common, or Training Ground.

The Central Park or Common was laid out very early in the settlement of the town, and was originally much larger than at present.

In 1669, at a meeting of a committee appointed to have in charge the laying out and planting a settlement or "plantation about fourteen miles from Marlborough," voted:—

"That there bee a plase reserued in comon neare the center of the towne convenient for that purpose, about twenty acres for a trayning plase and to set a school house upon; as near as may bee where the meeting house should be plased."

In 1732, the proprietors appointed Moses Rice, Thomas Stearns and Benjamin Flagg, Jr., a committee to make a survey of the common land near the meeting-house. They made their report in November, 1734, from which we find that the Common had much decreased in size since it was originally laid out. The committee say:—

"Pursuant to a vote of the Proprietors of the *Comon* and undivided land in the south part of Worcester, May the 17th, 1732, appointing us a Committee to return a plat of the *Comon* Land by the Meeting House in Worcester, having surveyed the same find eleven acres and one hundred and forty rod including the Burial place and the road thro' the said Comon is Bounded as described in this platt herewith returned & survey by Benj'a. Flagg.

All of which is submitted to the Proprietors by us."

Encroachments upon the Common, as thus laid out, have been made from time to time, so that it is now reduced to about seven acres.

Forty or fifty years ago there were two travelled roads across

the Common—one from the north-west to the south-east corner, the other from the south-west corner, at the present junction of Main and Park streets, to the north-east corner, near the house of Capt. Daniel Goulding, which was in 1829 a tavern, kept by Nathaniel Eaton, and stood near the present location of Houghton's Block.

For many years, besides being used for the training ground and musters of the militia, it was the place used for the annual cattle shows, as well as for menageries and other travelling exhibitions. On the south-east corner, near the junction of Park street with Salem Square, was one of the town schoolhouses, and just back of that, the town pound fronting on what was at one time known as the Baptist Hill, now Salem Square.

Till about the year 1834, at which time a substantial wooden fence was built, the Common was not enclosed, except that part reserved for a burial ground which was surrounded by a stone wall.

Jonas Rice, the first settler in the town at the permanent settlement in 1713, was buried in the burial ground on the Common in 1753.* Here also, in 1784, was buried the Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty, the first minister of the Old South Church; and in 1790, Col. Timothy Bigelow, and in 1796, Major William Treadwell—soldiers of the Revolution.

This burying ground was formerly at the east end of the Common and in use from 1730 to 1795, when it was discontinued, and the ground in Mechanic street taken by the town for burial purposes.

On or near the spot where the flagstaff now stands, and a little west of the Bigelow monument, was the cannon house of the Worcester Artillery, the hearse house, and for many years a building occupied by the hook and ladder company.

The Town Hall was not erected on the Common till 1825, being formally opened May 2d of that year, on which occasion the late Gov. John Davis delivered an address by request of the town.

* In Barton's "Epitaphs from the Cemetery on Worcester Common," it is stated that Mr. Rice was the first school teacher of the town, having been appointed in April, 1726. He also served as Town Clerk, Representative to the General Court and as one of the Judges for the Inferior Court for Worcester. His son Adonijah was the first male child born in Worcester.

The Old Court-House.

Another ancient building, standing on Trumbull Square and now occupied by Mrs. George A. Trumbull, was formerly the Court House, and located on Court Hill. It was erected in 1751, to take the place of that built in 1733, which was found too small for the purposes of the county. The size of the new one was thirty-six by forty feet, and it was for about fifty years occupied by the Courts.

It was this building that the insurgents, to the number of three hundred or more, took possession of in 1786, defying the Court and, with bayonets charged, preventing its entrance. The Chief Justice, Artemas Ward, did not retire even when the soldiers advanced and pressed their bayonets against his breast, but remonstrated with the commander of the insurgents for some time, after which the Court was finally obliged to withdraw to the United States Arms tavern when it was adjourned till the next day.

In October, 1763, just before the South Meeting-House was so far advanced in its construction as to admit of occupancy, a town meeting was held in the Court-House (the old Meeting-House had probably been taken down), and at a later period it was occupied for religious purposes on Sundays, by the Second Parish (Rev. Dr. Bancroft), while their own house was in process of erection.

The removal to its present location, about the year 1803, drawn by eighty yoke of oxen, was considered a great undertaking at the time. For a brief period after its removal, it was occupied by an English lady, who kept a fashionable school for young ladies.

The Court-House was originally a one-story building, with a high room having an arched ceiling. It was raised from the street about five or six feet, with a flight of steps at the front entrance, and the door opened directly into the court-room. Under the building was a space where the gallows and pillory were kept. The necessity for a new and more commodious room was thus referred to in the "Spy" of June 18, 1800:—

"The Court House in this place is pronounced by every person to be too small and very inconvenient and altogether unfit to transact the business of

the county. During the very warm weather last week the house was found intolerable, and persons necessarily attending were compelled frequently to leave it to prevent suffocation."

It was occupied soon after its removal by Dr. Joseph Trumbull, father of the late George A. Trumbull, and has continued in the possession of the family ever since.

In this house is a fine portrait of Dr. Trumbull; also one of Samuel Paine, a Worcester loyalist; both of which were painted in London.

The corner-stone of the present brick Court-House was laid Thursday, October 1, 1801, and it was completed in September, 1803.

King's Arms Tavern.

Among the decorations of the Lincoln House, at the corner of Main and Elm streets, on the occasion of the 4th of July celebration, was a placard inscribed:—

"This spot marks the location of the King's Arms Tavern. The townspeople compelled the keeper to take down the sign, when it was burned in the street."

"Lafayette was the guest of Governor Lincoln at a house which formerly stood on this spot, in Sept., 1824."

As early as 1732 this tavern was kept by Capt. Thomas Sterne, and after his death, in 1772, by his widow, Mary Sterne, who remained there till her death, in 1784. Before the Declaration of Independence was passed, it was the resort of the loyalists of the town, and the place where they prepared and signed the famous protest of 1774, an account of which has been given on another page.

In August of the same year, the Worcester County Convention, or Congress of the Committees of Correspondence, held two sessions in this tavern, but, "by reason of the straitness of the place, and the number attending" it was adjourned to the County Court-House.

The occasion referred to above, when the sign bearing the royal arms was taken down and destroyed, was on the first

celebration of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, a report of which, from the "Massachusetts Spy," is given on a preceding page.

Upon this site, the late Governor Levi Lincoln erected a dwelling house, which is now a part of the hotel known as the Lincoln House. Here, in 1824, General Lafayette was the guest of Mr. Lincoln (then called Judge Lincoln, he having received an appointment to the Bench of the Supreme Judicial Court a few months before).

The papers of the day state that Lafayette arrived in Worcester on Friday, September 3d, 1824, having been received at the West Boylston line by an escort of cavalry, under command of Capt. James Estabrook, and that Judge Lincoln met him at the north part of the town in a barouche drawn by four gray horses. At Clark's tavern, a mile or two from the village, a regiment of Light Infantry, under Lieut.-Col. Ward, was added to the escort. At the entrance to Dr. William Paine's estate, on Lincoln street, an arch of flags was erected over the street; another over Court Hill, decorated by the ladies of the town. The children of the public schools were arranged on each side of the street at this point, and threw branches of laurel before the carriage of Lafayette. Another arch of flags was erected on Main street near the Worcester Bank. On the arrival of the procession at Judge Lincoln's house, the Judge, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, delivered an address of welcome, which was responded to by the General.

There is but little to be found, either in the newspapers or elsewhere, in regard to the King's Arms Tavern, and the date of its erection, as well as of its disappearance, is involved in doubt.

The United States Arms.

This building, now known as the Exchange Hotel, was built sometime during the war of the Revolution, by Mr. Nathan Patch, one of the active and energetic business men of Worcester, and he was its first landlord. Originally, it was a two-story building, of not more than half its present size, and for many years was considered the best tavern in the place.

It was afterwards kept by Capt. William Barker, and he was succeeded in 1807 by Col. Reuben Sikes, one of the founders of a line of stages between Boston and Hartford, who made many improvements to the house, adding a hall on the north side. Capt. Samuel B. Thomas succeeded Col. Sikes about the year 1824, and while in his hands the third story and a portico were added.

This building possesses historical interest from having been the scene of many of the prominent events in the so-called "Shays Rebellion." In September, 1786, the Court of Common Pleas, Chief Justice Artemas Ward presiding, met at the United States Arms and opened the Court, as they were prevented from entering the Court-House by a body of armed men, under Capt. Adam Wheeler, of Hubbardston, who had gathered there to prevent the opening. In November following, another attempt was made to hold the Court, but it was again convened at the United States Arms, being still prevented by the insurgents from entering the Court-House.

The resistance to the holding of the courts in Worcester county was continued till December, 1786, when the Court was obliged to convene at the Sun Tavern; * but adjourned in conformity to instructions from the Governor, to the 23d of January following. The insurgents, however, not being aware of the adjournment, met in Worcester early in December, in large numbers, and made their head-quarters at the United States Arms. Two companies of the Worcester militia were ordered out, and, after forming in front of the Old South Church, marched down Main street to the tavern, where they found the insurgents drawn across the street to receive them. The order being given the militia to charge bayonets, they advanced towards their opponents, who did not stop to receive them, but wheeled and took a position on Court Hill; the militia marched on to the Hancock Arms, beyond Lincoln Square, and then returned to their quarters.

The rebellion was soon after suppressed, many of the insurgents suffering great hardships in their flight from Worcester, which took place during a severe snow storm. A full account of

* In 1786 the Sun Tavern was on Main, near Elm street, where the Lincoln House now stands, and was kept by Capt. John Sowers. Before the Revolution it was called the King's Arms.

the action of the insurgents in Worcester, and of the causes which led to the insurrection, is given in Lincoln's History.

In October, 1789, President Washington passed through Worcester, and was at the United States Arms, where he remained a few hours and took breakfast. He was escorted from the Leicester line by a number of prominent citizens on horseback; and, on his arrival in town, the bells were rung and a salute of eleven guns fired. At his departure, another salute was fired and he was again escorted, by the gentlemen who received him, as far as the town of Marlborough.

The Hancock Arms, just alluded to, was located on the west side of Lincoln street, not far from the present Lincoln Square station of the Worcester and Nashua Railroad. Here the Shays insurrectionists made their head-quarters in December, 1786; and in early times it was a famous resort for the wits and wags of the town, and was often the place of meeting of the "American Political Society." In 1788, it had for a sign, a portrait of Gov. Hancock, and was kept by Mr. Luke Brown. It was destroyed by an incendiary fire, December 24, 1824.

The Paine House, on Lincoln Street.

This ancient house, located on the west side of Lincoln street, north of the terminus of the street railway, was raised just before the revolutionary war, but not completed till afterwards, and was formerly known as "The Oaks." Timothy Paine, who came to Worcester with his father, Nathaniel Paine, of Bristol, in 1738, purchased the farm in 1759 and built the main part of the present house. He and his sons, William and Samuel, were loyalists, he being one of the *Mandamus* Councillors appointed by the King in 1774. So great was the excitement upon political matters at that time, that the indignation against any one who accepted an office from the King was very decided, and Mr. Paine's case proved no exception, notwithstanding the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow-citizens. He was obliged not only to resign his office but to read his resignation to a large number of the inhabitants, who had gathered on the Common to hear it. He then lived in a house on the west side

of Lincoln street, and a few rods north of the Hancock Arms. It is said that in the early days of the Revolution, some American soldiers were quartered at this house, and manifested their feelings towards its owner by cutting the throat of his full-length portrait.

Notwithstanding his royalist ideas, Mr. Paine was much respected and honored by his fellow-citizens, and held many important offices. He was Town Clerk from 1753 to 1763, Register of Deeds, 1761 to 1778, member of the Executive Council of the Province, from 1766 to 1773, and for many years represented the town at the General Court. He died at Worcester, July 17, 1793.

Dr. William Paine, left Worcester before the commencement of hostilities, going to England, where, in 1775, he received the appointment of apothecary to the British army, and afterwards served in America. In October, 1782, he was appointed by Sir Guy Carleton, physician to his Majesty's hospitals in North America, and, for awhile, was stationed at Halifax. After the war he returned to Worcester and for many years practised his profession. He was one of the original corporators of the American Antiquarian Society and its first Vice-President. He died in Worcester, April 19, 1833.

Samuel Paine left Worcester a few weeks after the attack on Concord and Lexington, having been arrested by order of the town, and sent to Cambridge or Watertown. He soon escaped, and went into Boston, where he was at the time of the battle of Bunker Hill and during the siege. At the evacuation of Boston by the British, he went to England, and remained there for several years, receiving a pension from the British Government. He died in Worcester, June 10, 1807.

It has been said that the Paine estate was on the list for confiscation during the war, but this is undoubtedly an error, as there appears to be no record to confirm it. The house is probably one of the oldest now standing in Worcester, and has since its erection been occupied by five generations of the same family.

The Dix House.

The old mansion standing on Main street, nearly opposite the

head of School street, and now occupied by Mr. Samuel Davis, was for several years the residence of Dr. Elijah Dix, physician and apothecary. He was apprenticed in 1765, for three years, to Dr. John Green, senior, "to learn the art of physick and chirurgery," and then began practice in Worcester, having his office and store in a building a little south of his house. Dr. Dix was a very public-spirited citizen, and took great interest in everything that conduced to the prosperity of the town. He was an active mover in the building of the Worcester and Boston turnpike, which, at the time, was considered to be a great advantage to the travelling public. In 1784, Dr. Dix took a prominent part in the formation of a joint-stock company for the erection of a new school-house in the central part of the town, consisting, besides himself, of Levi Lincoln, Joseph Allen, John Green, Nathan Patch, Palmer Goulding and others. Their object was to have a more suitable building than the ordinary town school-house, where an academy or school could be kept for the benefit of their children, and also in the hope that there might be a greater interest in the education of the young. A building was erected on a large open lot on the west side of Main street, just south of Hobbs's block, which was, in 1801, sold to the town, and for many years was known as the Centre School-house.

Most of the large and beautiful elm trees which have been such an ornament to Main street were planted by, or at the suggestion of, Dr. Dix, but unfortunately, the modern ideas of improvement have caused most of them to be cut down. He removed to Boston in 1795, where he built and opened a large drug store on the south side of Faneuil Hall. It was in the garden of Dr. Dix in Boston, that the pear, so long and favorably known to horticulturists by his name, originated.

The most interesting fact, however, that can be mentioned in regard to this house and its occupants is, that it was the home, at one time, of some of the immediate family of Dr. Joseph Warren, who was killed at Bunker Hill. It is the tradition that they occupied the house from a short time before the battle of Bunker Hill till after the evacuation of Boston. A former occupant * of the house states that upon a pane of glass in one

* Mr. Clarendon Harris.

of the chamber windows, the name of Mercy Scollay was written with a diamond. This lady, it will be remembered, was said to have been betrothed to Gen. Warren for his second wife, and after his death she had for a time the care of his three younger children.

[Since writing the foregoing we have received through the kindness of Prof. E. H. Leffingwell, of New Haven, Conn., extracts from four letters written by General Warren to Dr. Dix, in relation to the occupancy of this house by the family of Warren. These extracts are confirmatory of the tradition we have alluded to, and also fix with more certainty, the time when the family came to Worcester. A letter addressed to Miss Mercy Scollay is also quoted, and confirms our supposition that she was in Worcester with the children of Dr. Warren.]

Prof. Leffingwell states the substance of these letters as follows:

First Letter.

Boston, February 24, 1775.

"I must request you to have the house you mentioned ready to receive some of my goods in three or four days." He expressed a wish, that if the goods should arrive before any of his family, they should be taken care of, as the trunks and chests contain things of the greatest value to him. He begs that the matter may be kept secret, and that after his people arrive, it may not be known what family they belong to, until he follows them.

Second Letter.

Boston, April 10, 1775.

He states that many of his goods are out of town, and desires him to hire two wagons and send them to the house of Mrs. Mary Warren, in Roxbury, to take as many of his goods as they can carry.

He hopes that his children and family will arrive at Worcester by next Thursday night, April 13, 1775, and desires him to give them the best directions in his power.

Third Letter.

Cambridge, May 10, 1775.

Requests him to call on Miss Scollay, at his house in Worcester, and ask her to give a reasonable reward to the bearer for carting up one load of his goods.

Fourth Letter.

CAMBRIDGE, May 10.

To his dear friend, Miss Mercy Scollay: —

Acknowledges receipt of her letter, and is happy in hearing that she and the family are all in health. Says the "young gentlemen" told him that Dr. Dix wanted to be informed respecting the sowing of some wheat. Says he shall acquiesce with thankfulness in his (Dr. Dix's) judgment, and wishes him to hire ten or twelve acres more of land, as he shall keep several horses, and cannot think of being deprived of indulging himself in the pleasures of agriculture. Desires him to direct in the matter of repairs, agreeably to his own taste, as he knows he should like it, and wishes to be remembered in the most affectionate manner to all friends.

Fifth Letter.

CAMBRIDGE, May 13, 1775.

States that your (Dr. Dix) many kindnesses have made the strongest impressions of gratitude on his mind, and while he has not had an opportunity to acknowledge them, hopes that within a fortnight he may pay his respects to him and his lady. Says that Miss Scollay mentions their (Dr. and Mrs. Dix's) goodness in the strongest terms. Would be glad if he (Dr. D.) could hire twenty or thirty acres more of land, near the house, as he must keep three or four horses, and wants to have something of a farm.

Expresses the wish, that as he has so many applications for labor from miserable fugitives who have fled from Boston, he would gladly provide for them. He therefore wishes that the men and women in the house may be provided with accommodations elsewhere. Closes the letter with "any sum of money that you may want for your private use, pray take."

I have also a letter of Dr. John Warren, addressed to Dr. *Jonas* Dix, Worcester, dated Cambridge, June 30, 1775, in which he says, that understanding that Dr. D. has, in some measure, the care of his deceased brother's family, and not being able to have a personal interview with him at that time, he begs him to take all possible care to render them comfortable, and prevent their being in want of anything necessary. Says that as soon as he has leisure, he will repair to Worcester, in order to fix matters upon a firmer basis. He holds himself and brothers responsible to Dr. Dix, for all necessary charges he may be at.

[There is also an account, unsigned, dated April, 1775, Dr. Joseph Warren to Elijah Dix, Dr., for £30 12*s.* 3½*d.*, and appears to be for repairs on the house. A memorandum, written and signed by Dr. Dix, endorsed "*Mem. to be annexed to Dr. J. Warren's account.*" This is as follows: —

"I have not charged any rent, as Dr. Joseph Warren had agreed with me to purchase the farm, — came to a price, — and was to finish the bargain by

taking a deed, when he came up to Worcester, and desired me to make repairs upon his account, which repairs were not of more real value to me than his improvement of the house, and was worth to me, from the time his family entered it, until they quitted the same, including a pasture of twenty acres, I hired, by his order, for his use, which cost me six pounds; also have not made any charge for my personal service in taking care of, and providing for, the family."

(Signed) ELIJAH DIX.

[There is also a bill of Palmer Goulding, who, from its contents, I suppose was a shoemaker.]

"1775. Dr. Elijah Dix to pay for sundrys d'd Doctor Joseph Warren's Famely:—

June 26.	To one pare for the negro man	8*s.*
	to one pare for the Dafter	4*s.* 4*d.*
	to the sons 3*s.* 8*d.*, to the child 2*s.* 8*d.* . .	
July 6.	to mending one small pare	4*d.*
Sept. 22.	2 pare for Betsey	6*s.* 4*d.*

The Baldwin House.

This house stands on Main street, at the foot of George street, and, one hundred years ago, was the residence of Nathan Baldwin, who came to Worcester from Medford in 1756, and became one of the most respected and prominent men in the town. He was one of the founders of the "American Political Society" and chairman of the committee which framed its constitution and by-laws. Mr. Baldwin was an active politician, and a friend of Col. Timothy Bigelow and other noted patriots of that day. An examination of the town records and the history of Worcester shows that he was a most energetic citizen, and was the recipient of many important trusts from his fellow-townsmen.

As a member of a committee appointed in May, 1766, to prepare instructions to Ephraim Doolittle, the representative to the General Court, he became the author of resolutions which contained the earliest expression on the records of the town, of the revolutionary feeling against the royal government.

He was considered the ablest writer of the patriotic party, and prepared the resolutions adopted by the town in 1774, to which we have previously referred, and against which the

famous loyalist protest was made. He was Selectman in 1770, Town Clerk in 1775, and for several years Register of Deeds.

This house was occupied for many years by William Eaton, a grandson of Adonijah Rice. Mr. Eaton died in 1859, at the ripe age of 92. He took an active interest in town affairs up to the last year of his life, and his erect form as he walked the streets was familiar to many of our citizens. He held various offices in the gift of the town, among them that of a Selectman, for eight years, and a Representative to the General Court for about the same time.

Note.—Besides the authorities quoted from in these notes, there have been many valuable suggestions received from a series of historical papers, published in the "Worcester Palladium" in 1855, and republished in the same paper in 1857–58 and 1874, under the title of "Carl's Tour in Main Street." These very interesting and valuable contributions to the history of Worcester were prepared for the press by the late Hon. John S. C. Knowlton. They will prove of great use to the future historian of Worcester, giving, as they do, many details in regard to prominent citizens, and the location of public and private buildings in Worcester a generation ago, which cannot be found elsewhere. Mr. Knowlton was assisted in collecting the material for the series, by the late Clarendon Wheelock.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF WORCESTER, PREVIOUS TO THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

1657. The first grant of land within the limits of the present boundaries of this town was made.

1668. In October, land was granted to Daniel Gookin and others, and a committee was empowered to lay out a town.

1673-4. First settlement made in 1674. John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," visited the Indian town Pakachoag, near the present site of the College of the Holy Cross.

1675. Settlement abandoned, in consequence of trouble with the Indians.

1684. Town resettled, and incorporated in October of that year.

1702. Again abandoned, by reason of the hostility and depredations of the Indians.

1713. Permanent settlement effected. Jonas Rice came to the settlement with family, and remained there without other families about two years. "He settled on a farm on the cross road leading from the Sutton to the Grafton road,' and was joined by his brothers Gershom and James, and others, with their families, in the Spring of 1715." *

1714. First male child born; son of Jonas Rice.

1715. First death in the town after the settlement of 1713 (Jonathan Hubbard).

1716. First building for the purpose of public worship erected.

1722. First town meeting held, in September, by special order of the General Court.

1731. The County of Worcester created and Worcester made the shire town. The first Probate Court in the County held in the Meeting-House July 13, and the first Court of Common Pleas held August 10. The first Supreme Court of Judicature held September 22.

1740. The first School-House built by the town, at north end of Main Street.

1763. The present Old South Church erected.

1765. Vote of the town instructing its representative to join in no measure countenancing the Stamp Act.

1774. Militia Companies marched from Worcester as far as Shrewsbury, on their way to Boston, it having been reported that a body of the King's troops had made an incursion into the county to capture gunpowder.

* MS. Notes of William Lincoln.

1775. April 19th. One hundred and ten men, under Capt. Timothy Bigelow and Capt. Benjamin Flagg, marched for the seat of war on the news of the battle of Lexington being received. The news of the battle was received in Worcester, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the day succeeding the march of the British troops from Boston. The minute men marched at once, making their first halt at Shrewsbury, where they received orders to proceed immediately, and they reached Watertown at day-break the next morning.*

1776. Sunday, July 14. Declaration of Independence read by Isaiah Thomas from the porch of South Meeting-House.

CELEBRATIONS IN WORCESTER ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The orations designated by a * have been printed.

1776. The first celebration of the adoption of the Declaration of independence, in Worcester, was on Monday, July 22d, 1776, an account of which, taken from the "Massachusetts Spy," is given on a previous page.

1779. The second celebration (so far as can be learned from the newspapers of the day), took place in 1779. The "Spy" reports that, the 4th of July coming on Sunday, the celebration was postponed till Thursday the 8th, at which time "the day was ushered in by the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon and a display of the Continental flag; at twelve o'clock thirteen cannon were fired; in the evening the Court House was illuminated, thirteen rockets were fired, and a display of other fireworks; greatly to the satisfaction of many respectable and staunch friends to the common cause of our nation, who were assembled at the Court House from this and the adjacent towns. Mutual congratulations were given and a number of toasts suitable to the occasion were drank."

1789. There was a military celebration, with a procession, composed of a Company of Horse, commanded by Capt. Drury, of Leicester; the Worcester Train of Artillery, commanded by Capt. John Stanton; and the two Infantry Companies of the town, all under command of Major [Phinehas] Jones.

1790. By the Worcester Artillery Co., which fired a salute on Court-House Hill, and had a dinner at Mower's tavern.†

1791.* Military celebration by the four companies of the town. An oration by Edward Bangs, and an original ode, written for the occasion.

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* MS. notes of William Lincoln, in possession of the American Antiquarian Society.

† Capt. Ephraim Mower's tavern was at the corner of Mechanic street, near the spot where Clark's Block now stands.

1792. Civic and military celebration, with a dinner at Heywood's tavern, at which fourteen patriotic toasts were drunk, with a discharge of cannon after each.*

1793. Artillery Company paraded and partook of a repast at Capt. Heywood's, and fired a salute of fifteen guns.

1795.* Oration by Joseph Allen, Jr., at the South Meeting-House. The usual dinner took place, with toasts, accompanied by firing of cannon.

1796.* Oration at the South Church by Francis Blake, of Rutland. The dinner at Mower's tavern, at which sixteen toasts were given, accompanied by a discharge of artillery after each.

1797.* Oration by Dr. Oliver Fiske. Civic and military celebration, with the usual dinner. The Worcester Train of Artillery also partook of a supper at Capt. Heywood's inn, and, according to the "Massachusetts Spy," "the anniversary was closed with decent Hilarity."

1798.* Oration by Rev. Samuel Austin, with the usual military procession and dinner. After the oration, the celebrated song, "*Adams and Liberty*," was sung with great applause.

1799. An oration was expected from Pelatiah Hitchcock, of Brookfield; but, on his way from that place the orator was seized with a sudden sickness, and was unable to reach Worcester. The usual dinner was served at Mower's Hall, and in the evening the Artillery Company had a supper at Capt. Heywood's tavern.

1800.* Oration by Edward Bangs, at the North Meeting-House (Dr. Bancroft's).

1801.* Oration by Isaac Story, of Sterling.

1802.* Oration by Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore, of Leicester. The civic procession was escorted by Capt. Healey's Company of Artillery to South Meeting-House, where the oration was delivered.

1803.* Oration, delivered at the South Meeting-House, by John William Caldwell.

1804.* Oration by William Charles White of Rutland.

1805.* Procession, escorted by the Artillery Co., Capt. Slater; and the Infantry Co., Lieut. Flagg. Oration by Daniel Waldo Lincoln.

1808.* Procession, escorted to South Meeting-House by Artillery Co., Capt. Curtis. Oration by Major Estes Howe.

1810.* Civic and military celebration. Escort by the Light Infantry, Capt. William E. Green. Oration by Levi Heywood. Declaration of Independence read by Maj. Levi Lincoln.

1811.* Celebrated by the young men of the town between the ages of 16 and 21, with an oration by John W. Hubbard, at the South Meeting-House.

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*Capt. Daniel Heywood's inn was on the present location of the Bay State House.

1812.* Celebrated by the Washington Benevolent Society, with a procession escorted by the Light Infantry, under Capt. John W. Lincoln; and a dinner in a building erected for the purpose on Federal Hill. Oration by Hon. Francis Blake.

Also celebrated by the Republicans. A procession, escorted by the Worcester Artillery. Oration by Enoch Lincoln, and an ode by Edward D. Bangs. The festivities of the day closed with a display of fireworks.

1814.* Celebration by the Federal Republicans, escorted by the Light Infantry, Capt. John W. Lincoln. The oration by Edwin A. White, at the North Meeting-House. Also a civic procession, escorted by the Artillery, Capt. Samuel Graves. Oration at South Meeting-House by Rejoice Newton.

1815.* Republican celebration, with a dinner, under an arbor erected in front of Captain Slater's house. The oration by Peleg Sprague.

1816.* Celebrated by the Federal Republicans. Oration by John Davis, at South Meeting-House.

1817.* Oration by Pliny Merrick, Esq. Ode by Edward D. Bangs.

1818.* A procession, escorted by the Worcester Light Infantry; an oration by Austin Denny, and a dinner at Hathaway's Hall.

1819.* Republican celebration. A procession, escorted by the Light Infantry, Capt. Sewall Hamilton. An oration by Edward D. Bangs, at the South Meeting-House.

1820. Republican celebration. A procession, escorted by the Light Infantry, Capt. John Coolidge. An oration by Charles H. Warren, Esq.

1821. Republican celebration, with an address by Henry Rogers (editor of the "National Ægis").

1822. No regular celebration this year. An address was delivered to a small gathering of citizens by Rev. Jonathan Going.

1823. Democratic celebration, with an oration by Francis B. Stebbins, at South Meeting-House. A dinner, presided over by Otis Corbett, in a bower near the hotel of Nathaniel Eaton. The procession was escorted by the Worcester Rifle Corps, Capt. Nathaniel Gates.

1824. A procession, escorted by the Light Infantry, Capt. Artemas Ward, 2d; with an oration by William Lincoln, Esq. A dinner was served in a bower on land of Maj. Samuel Allen, a few rods east of the meeting-house.

1825. Celebration by the Light Infantry, with an oration by Richard Hampton Vose, a member of the company.

1826. The first celebration under the auspices of the town authorities. An oration was delivered by Charles Allen, Esq. A dinner was served in the Town Hall, presided over by Isaiah Thomas, with music by the Worcester Harmonic Society, Emory Perry, President. The procession, under command of Brig.-Gen'l Nathan Heard, was escorted by the Worcester Rifles, Capt. Thos. Howe; Worcester Artillery, Capt. Elijah Flagg; and Worcester Light Infantry, Capt. John Whittemore.

1827. Celebration by the fraternity of Odd Fellows, with an oration at the North Meeting-House, by Thomas Kinnicutt, Esq., and a poem by Richard Hampton Vose, Esq. After the exercises in the meeting-house, there was a dinner, presided over by Hon. John Davis.

1829. A celebration with a procession of citizens, escorted by the Providence Light Infantry, Capt. Field; Leicester Light Infantry, Capt. [Joseph D.] Sargent; Worcester Light Infantry, Capt. Charles A. Hamilton; and the Worcester Artillery, Capt. Leonard W. Stowell. Oration by Hon. John Davis, and an ode by Emory Washburn, Esq.

1830. Citizens' celebration, with a procession, under the direction of Gen. Nathan Heard. Oration by Peter C. Bacon, Esq. At a dinner, after the oration, at Capt. Thomas's Hotel, the following toast was proposed by Isaac Goodwin, Esq., "Our venerable townsman, Isaiah Thomas, Esq., *who first promulgated* the Declaration of Independence to the inhabitants of this vicinity from the church and press."

1831. Young men's celebration, with a procession, escorted by the Worcester Rifles. An oration by Edwin Conant, Esq., and a poem by Benj. F. Thomas, Esq., at the North Meeting-House. There was also another procession of citizens, escorted by the Light Infantry, Capt. William S. Lincoln, and an oration by Samuel M. Burnside.

1832. Celebration by the Republicans or anti-Jackson party, with an oration by George Folsom, Esq. Procession, under Timothy W. Bancroft as marshal, escorted by the Rifle Co. and the Light Infantry, Capt. Zenas Studley, at the South meeting-house. The day was also celebrated by the citizens without distinction of party, with an oration by Benjamin F. Thomas, at the North meeting-house.

1833.* Celebration under the auspices of the town authorities. A procession escorted by the Light Infantry and the Rifle Company, an oration by Edward Everett. An oratorio under the direction of Emory Perry, was given in the evening, also a grand ball at Estabrook's Hotel.

1834. Celebrated by the Whigs. An oration by Franklin Dexter, of Boston, at the brick meeting-house (Dr. Bancroft's). A dinner at Worthington & Clark's (the United States Hotel), at which Levi Lincoln presided.

1835. Celebration, Monday, July 6th, on the completion and formal opening of the Boston and Worcester Railroad. A procession, composed of about 300 citizens of Boston and vicinity, escorted by citizens of Worcester and the Light Infantry, Capt. Charles H. Geer. A collation was served at the Town Hall, at which Gov. Levi Lincoln presided. Speeches were made by the presiding officer, Hon. Nathan Hale, president of the railroad company, Hon Edward Everett and others. During the collation, about 500 ladies were given an excursion to Westborough. Hon. Charles Allen was chairman of the Committee of Arrangements.

1836. Celebrated by the Whigs of the town, with an oration by Benjamin F. Thomas, Esq. A dinner in the Town Hall, presided over by Thomas Kinnicutt.

1837. A celebration by the Jackson Democrats, with an oration by Robert Rantoul, Jr.

1839. An oration was delivered by William Lincoln, at New Worcester.

1840. A Democratic Celebration, with an oration by Rev. Orestes A. Brownson.

1844. Celebration by the Whigs, with speeches from several gentlemen.

1850. A celebration, with a poem by Charles Thurber.

1851. Free Soil Celebration, with an oration by Hon. John P. Hale.

1853. An oration by Francis Wayland, Esq.

1856. An oration by Homer B. Sprague (printed in the "Massachusetts Spy"), and, on the 9th of July, a grand Floral Procession.

1859. A grand floral procession.

1860. The corner-stone of the Free Public Library was laid, and addresses were delivered by Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, Mayor of the city, and other gentlemen.

1865. An ovation to returned soldiers. A trades' procession; parade of the children of the public schools, &c.

1868. Military and civic procession. The military organizations, under command of Col. Robert H. Chamberlain, consisted of six companies of the 10th Regiment, M. V. M., the State Guard (of Worcester), Lieut.-Col. David M. Woodward; and the Highland Cadets, Capt. L. G. White (from the Highland Military Academy in Worcester). The fire department of Worcester, A. B. Lovell, chief engineer, formed a part of the procession. There was also a cavalcade, consisting of gentlemen mounted, and driving light and fancy teams, and draft horses; in all, about 500 horses.

1876.* Military and Civic Procession in the morning, and a grand Trades' Procession in the afternoon. An oration by Hon. B. F. Thomas, of Boston. The Worcester Continentals, an independent military organization, dressed in the style of the Revolutionary period, made their first appearance on this occasion.

Since the last pages of these notes came from the press, we have been favored, through the kindness of Mr. Stephen Salisbury, with a copy of an original letter, addressed to his father, who was a merchant in Worcester one hundred years ago, by Col. Timothy Bigelow, to whom reference has been made in the early pages of this pamphlet.

The letter, though bearing different dates, was written upon one sheet of small-sized letter paper, the last date being only three days before the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne. As it has never appeared in print before, we have deemed it of sufficient interest to present it here.

"Camp at Stillwater, Oct. 7, 1777.

"Sir,—I arrived in camp last Saturday. Nothing of importance has turned up since, except a small skirmish that happened yesterday between our piquet guard and the enemie's, when the latter was drove to their lines. We had one man mortally wounded, and three others slightly. There is great desertion from the enemy, not less that 8 or 10 for many days back, mostly Germans. The enemy are strongly fortifying their camp.

"I am much pleased at finding such a perfect union among the different corps of officers. It is the happiest camp I ever was in. Officers & soldiers put the greatest confidence in the General imaginable.* His treatment of the officers and soldiers is quite opposed to that of Schuyler. I should not have wrote to you before I had something of more importance to communicate, had it not been to ask the favor to buy some brown sugar."

"Saratoga, Oct. 14, 1777.

"Since I wrote the above, we have almost been in one continual action with the enemy, but not in very close order, since the 7th inst. (for the particulars of which I would refer you to Mr. Lincoln†), but in close pursuit. We are now all round them, and it is common to have 30, 40 or 50 deserters & prisoners come in for several days past. The Canadians, we are told by the deserters, have mutinied, and decline having anything further to do in the matter, & was promised by the General that they should go home in a few days. They lost Gen. Frazer in the action of the 7th, an officer of approved merit, who commanded the light troops, in whom they put the greatest confidence, & give it as one reason we took the field, their early loss of that officer. Upon the whole I hardly can realize that the great Burgoyne is reduced to such a distressed situation as you may depend he is at present. How the scene may

* Gen. Horatio Gates. † Abraham Lincoln.

change I cannot fully determine; but from the present situation of things, I expect to give you soon a further good account.

"What I wrote respecting sugar, the other day, I have not had time to think of since. Would only inform you that it is with great difficulty we can get any such thing here, so that if you can spare me a few pounds, when my baggage is brought from Worcester, it would be very acceptable in this place. Remember my love to Mrs. Bigelow & children.

"Believe me, Sir, to be with much

"esteem your friend,

"TIMO. BIGELOW."

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